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SCHOOLS WITH A MESSAGE IN INDIA

BY

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WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

PREFACE

THE foreign mission boards of Great Britain and North America recently sent to India a strong commission under the chairmanship of Principal A. G. Fraser. The report of the commission, published in October 1920, under the title 'Village Education in India,' has been recognized by the highest authorities as furnishing valuable guidance not only to the missionary societies, but to all interested in the education of the villages of India. Professor D. J. Fleming was a member of the commission, and in the course of its investigations he gathered personally a large amount of material relating to the work of the different schools that were visited. The present volume contains a selection from that material. While, as Professor Fleming points out, it is published on his own responsibility and not with the authority of the commission, it is an important supplement to the report, supplying a body of concrete experience which illustrates the arguments and conclusions of the commission. The schools here described are selected from among the best in India. They cannot be regarded as typical of Indian educational institutions as a whole. But in describing some of the best work that is being done, Professor Fleming's volume shows what may be achieved under actual Indian conditions, and furnishes valuable guidance as to the principles and methods which have in practice proved most fruitful and rewarding. It will be cordially welcomed by those engaged in the work of education in India, and by many at home who will find in it fresh evidence of the noble work that is being done for the redemption and upbuilding of human life in India.

J. H. OLDHAM.

2, EATON GATE, LONDON, S.W.

January 1921.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IT was the author's privilege to be the American representative on the Commission on Village Education in India, which was sent abroad by the combined missionary societies of Great Britain and North America during the year ending June 1920. Representative committees in every large area in India directed the commission to what was considered the most significant elementary educational work of their area. This gave a unique opportunity for seeing schools likely to contribute to the advance of educational thought and practice. It would be impossible within the limits of a single volume satisfactorily to describe all these schools. Much fine work is not even mentioned. Hence the attempt has been made to describe certain types of progressive schools. For the selection of these schools, and judgements expressed upon their work, the commission can in no way be held responsible. These chapters represent an individual effort to make available material which would naturally be out of place in an official report.

In the chapters which follow, twelve types of schools are treated. The first six describe various vocational or industrial schools. The first three are types for boys—the factory school, the modified-apprentice school, and the vocational middle school. The second three are for girls and women—the 'family system' for keeping them close to condition and duties they must meet in their future homes, a common wealth for girls, and an industrial institution for women. Next follow three miscellaneous types—education without literacy, an emphasis on literacy in the great book of nature and schools which stand out for their success in training for citizenship. Since it is important that indigenous effort in education should be understood and appreciated, the last three chapters describe various Indian educational experiments.

It is not supposed that these schools will present entirely new types to a modern educationist. For him their interest will lie in the way certain familiar principles and methods have been embodied amid conditions very different from those that obtain in the West. Some of these schools, however, reveal a degree of socialization that will surprise readers unfamiliar with the solidarity of community life in the Orient. In the individualistic West greater effort is required than in the East to obtain a thoroughly socialized school life. For the general reader and person preparing for work in India, the description of these schools may also widen the conception of the challenging range and magnitude of the educational problems and opportunities in an Oriental land. For those actually at work in India, where the means for the interchange of educational experience is as yet inadequate, it is hoped that a perusal of these outstanding educational experiments may prove helpful.

The author wishes to express his indebtedness to Miss G. A. Gollock for seeing this volume through the Press.

D. J. F.

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TO

JULIA ALVORD COLE

INTRODUCTION

I

THE schools described in this volume should be judged against a background of the ordinary village day school in India. To secure this background, one should understand certain features of the Indian educational system which for almost ninety years has maintained one broad policy. By the Directors' Despatch of 1854 departments of public instruction were organized in each province, leaving to the central government only large financial matters and the consideration of educational problems in their broadest aspects. This makes possible great variety of detail in the provincial administrative systems, comparable to the great variety of physical, climatic, and racial conditions in India. However, certain broad generalizations may be made.

In each of the ten provinces the Government maintains certain model schools,¹ and everywhere there is a system of grants-in-aid, by which the privately managed institutions may receive substantial help from public funds. Thus, by the definite policy of Government, primary and secondary education is largely in the hands of local bodies, private associations, and individuals.² These privately managed schools are all under Government inspection. For the most part, one finds schools in India on a monotonous level. The educational scheme outlined in the Government code sets the standard, which is followed to such an extent that a real experiment stands out with surprising freshness.

Broadly speaking, the dominant type of education in India

¹ In 1917-18 there were 1,059 such high schools.

² Less than 250,000 pupils are educated in Government institutions; over 2,500,000 in institutions managed by local boards and municipalities; and nearly 4,500,000 in privately managed institutions.

constitute two other unsatisfactory features of primary education in India. Ninety per cent. of the pupils are in the lower primary classes, and nearly half in the most rudimentary stage.¹ Children have been known to remain six years in the infant class. The following figures for 133 small village schools among the depressed classes in a South India district are typical: infant standard, 2,635 pupils; second standard, 438; third, 244; fourth, 95. In one province, for which figures for all classes of people are accessible,² 45 per cent. of the boys in the lower primary leave school at the end of their second year, or earlier. This brief period of school life, along with the prevailingly illiterate environment and paucity of suitable literature, leads to another serious result, a relapse into illiteracy of 39 per cent. of those who are educated. With these facts in mind, perhaps it should not seem strange that the villager is not enthusiastic about what is offered him in the way of education.

Another characteristic of Indian education is the low attainment in teacher training. In primary schools only 65,818 teachers have received any training at all out of a total of 219,667.³ This is one reason why the curriculum stays so close to the three R's. Courses have to be determined by what the teachers are able to teach. Lack of training also lies back of much of the stagnation. But the training institutions are themselves in part to blame, for they afford no opportunity for practice in actual village conditions, where a single teacher must handle several classes. Moreover, provision for the supervision and after-care of teachers is most inadequate, and hence those higher up must share the responsibility for the backward condition of the village school. One of India's greatest educational needs is for a thorough-going system of after-care for teachers.

The majority of the people in India's villages may be

¹ *Progress of Education in India*, Seventh Quinquennial Review, 1912-17, p. 122.

² *Report of a Survey of Primary Education*, Bengal, 1919, p. 3.

³ *Progress of Education in India*, 1912-17, p. 110. With this, however, may be compared the record of the United States. Of their 300,000 rural teachers, one-half have not completed the high school course and one-third have had no professional training whatever. Of the 30,000 negro teachers, one-half have had no education beyond the sixth grade (or standard) of the elementary school.

has been literary, and thus far efforts to give a bias toward a more practical form of instruction have been largely unsuccessful. As a result, there are great classes of the rural population that see no value in the kind of education offered. Cultivators and village artisans look upon education as training for a literary career, and believe that attendance at school unsuits their boys for continuing their hereditary occupation. A school of the conventional type may exist but a mile and a half away, yet not a single boy from the village will go to it. Sons of Brahmins will attend such a school, desiring to read religious books, or to pass on to the middle or high school. Sons of the Kayastha class will go, hoping to become petty officials. Sons of the shopkeepers and money-lenders will go in order to learn to figure. But the typical villager, who is much in the majority, sees no use in the school for the rural career ahead of his children.

The curriculum laid down by Government has not been sufficiently related to the future livelihood of village children. Missions in the past have largely followed the Government lead in adopting courses of an over-literary character. They, as well as the Government, have failed to provide a type of education that will fit the majority for the kind of life they will have to live. It has been the controlling desire of missions to give all a reading knowledge of the Bible, and to develop the most promising material for mission service. But this kind of education in itself does not meet the most urgent need of the masses. At the economic level of rural India the earning capacity of the average boy in his own village must be raised if education is to get widespread support. When one considers the extreme poverty of the people, and how this reacts on their whole life, preventing them from developing in a rounded way, it becomes plain that one fundamental aim in their education must be the achievement of economic salvation for the people. To discover just what to teach in a village school is one of the greatest and most baffling problems before educationists in India to-day. For its solution workers are needed who are conversant with the best educational history and experience of the West, and yet who have eyes to see and serve needs and conditions about them. Something creative is necessary.

Stagnation (i.e. retardation) and brevity of school life

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described as poor ; the classes among whom most mission work is done are *very* poor. The people say that they cannot afford to send their children to school. It is a mere pittance, it is true, that their boys earn by herding some caste man's cattle and goats, bringing in fodder, gathering sticks for the evening cooking, or frightening birds away from the ripening grain. But in India the employment of child labour is widespread,¹ and parents of the panchama class expect the child to earn his meal a day and an occasional loin cloth. So amongst these people a very real obstacle to education is poverty. The average monthly income of the family may easily not exceed twelve rupees from all sources.

If a stranger, however, were to ask them whether they would not like to have a school, he would be surprised at what would seem like a tremendous eagerness for education. For them a school would mean village prestige. The babu or teacher in their midst would afford a certain kind of protection ; and there would be factors of convenience in having among them a person who could read, and who would have touch with the outer world. But to maintain a successful school among such people requires the utmost perseverance.

The average mission village school is held in a mud-walled building, or on the veranda of the teacher's house, or out under the shade of a tree. These open-air schools sound idyllic ; but where the boy is always in plain sight, the father or mother who wants an errand done simply gives a shout, and off goes the boy without even waiting to finish the sentence he is reading. The equipment often consists of nothing more than a table and a chair for the teacher, matting for the pupils to sit on, a black-board, registers, and clock. Sometimes, in order to keep up the attendance, it is necessary to threaten the parents with the removal of even this meagre equipment. The pupils number from fifteen to forty, but generally about twenty. Not half of the pupils may possess a book, for their parents cannot scrape together a small coin to purchase one. A few fortunate ones have a slate, but the slate-pencil may not be more than an inch long. Government schools for the better classes are superior to these, as a rule.

¹ The Children's Bureau of the Department of Labour in the United States estimates that two million rural children in that country are engaged in farm labour to their injury.

It is on the mud floors of such village schools that the educational battle is to be lost or won in India. But it is not the lop-sided thatched roof, nor the mud walls, nor the simple equipment—none of these external things that are likely first to strike a stranger's attention—that need cause anxiety. The source of defeat lies elsewhere—in the poverty of the people, the curriculum ill adapted to the needs of the country-side, the inadequate training of the teacher, the almost total lack of his after-care, and the limitation of the sphere of education to the score or so of wriggling infants, rather than an attempt at an uplift of the whole community.

II

No single village day school or system of such schools known to the writer stands out sufficiently to be selected for exclusive description. Hence no chapter in what follows is given to this subject. A few characteristic attempts to meet some of the essential difficulties may, however, be given.

One solution for the difficulty arising from the poverty of the people is the night school, permitting attendance after the work of the day is done. In one case the missionary in charge paid twenty-five rupees for the land, and canvassed the people of the near-by villages for the building. They gave bamboos and grass for the roof, and worked in their spare time on the mud-walled building. A school of fifty-five boys and men from fourteen to thirty years of age is now running. Since they must come in the dark, paths through the prickly pears give trouble. Besides, there is fear of snakes and scorpions. So they come in groups of five or six, clapping their hands and singing. A lantern is hung out at the school. The missionary always keeps on hand some permanganate and a lance, to use if any one has been bitten. If anything happens in a given village—a death or marriage—none will come from that centre. The session begins with drill, to make them orderly and obedient. After a Scripture lesson comes the struggle with reading. Occasionally father and son study from the same book. The men, of course, are tired, and it is hard for them to keep awake. When the lessons are over, it is too late for most of them to go home. Hence they lie down on the mud floor and sleep until morning, going home early for a meal before work.

This school gets a Government grant of sixty to eighty rupees a year, half of which is given to the teacher. Such a school demands a good deal of attention from the missionary, and the teacher must be fresh for his night hours. Often the teacher's wife relieves him of part of the burden of the day school. The pupils come because they want to learn, not because they are sent. They are, therefore, not so apt as day pupils to revert to illiteracy after learning to read.

Some managers make it a practice to have a night school in every centre where they provide a day school. For example, in a part of Assam the mission schools have a night and an early morning session. One man teaches both, working in the fields all day. The teacher often lives in the room adjoining the school, and in such cases younger boys attend the night session, sleep in the school, and stay for the early morning session.

In one area a Christian men's club has been in existence for ten years, and only those who can read are permitted to belong. This has led to a demand for night schools, and it is noteworthy that those who had had some schooling as children, and had relapsed into illiteracy, were the most ready to take advantage of it. One initial difficulty in starting a night school is that there is no adequate source of light in the village. In this area the mission supplies a good lantern and the books, and the pupils pay from two to four annas a month. These schools are run for two months at a time. A considerable use is made of music in order to hold the men.

In another place there were sixteen co-operative credit societies close together, and in the central office a free evening school had been started. Some time ago the members (labourers and agriculturists) assembled in a general meeting, and passed a by-law compelling every member who could not read to attend the night school. If any member, due to old age or for other cogent reasons, was unable to attend the school, he had to send his son or other adult member of his family.

The manager of one mission district has succeeded in having 400 men taught through night schools. - Prizes of a prayer-book or Bible were given to those who learned to read. Rs.2.8.0 were given as a reward to the teacher for

each one who passed the primer, and Rs.3 for each who passed the first reader. But this whole system of payment by results is fraught with great dangers, and the cumulative experience of the West is against it.¹

Part-time schools are in some places proving a success. These pupils come for two or three hours a day. The rest of their time they are available for assisting their parents. They remain in touch with agricultural operations, and in sympathy with their parents' work and interests. This system meets such objections as that education disinclines boys from their hereditary occupation by making them aspire to be clerks rather than to follow the plough, that it unfits them for it physically by depriving them of the hardening effects of work in the fields at an early age, and that it involves a serious loss to the cultivators by depriving them of their children's services. A cultivator's son needs a working ability to read and write, a knowledge of arithmetic according to native methods, so that he can follow his accounts with the village shopkeeper and landlord, some familiarity with his rights and responsibilities, a general development of his intelligence through the right sort of readers, educational hand-work, and nature study. Such a specialized rural curriculum in part-time schools, however, is vigorously opposed by those who are wedded to the old-style literary curriculum, and who desire for their children the straightest pathway up to a middle, high, and university education. In no part of India have part-time schools been successful on a large scale.² If such schools were made the prevailing rural elementary type instead of the exception, the people might not think so lightly of them.

Another expedient is what is known as the short-term school. This type of school lasts for a month or six weeks, or in some centres three months. The teacher and equipment may then pass on to another centre, to return the following year for a period of intensive work. Or the school may be held only once a year in the central station under the direct supervision of the missionary. One advantage of this system is that it affords a good opportunity to select for further training in a boarding school those who are interested and capable.

¹ Cf. *Village Education in India*, pp. 160-1.

² They seem to have been most successful in the Central Provinces..

of learning. Often enough a beginning is made in elementary subjects to awaken their interest in a night school. Pupils taught quickly under pressure are most likely to teach others enthusiastically. While if, when learning, they spend a whole year in covering the alphabet, they are apt to become desultory teachers. One such six-weeks school had an attendance of seventy-nine women and twenty-five children.

Amongst the Telugus the experiment has been tried of giving a noonday meal to the children. As a result, some would walk two and a half miles to the school, which was a mile beyond another school where no noonday meal was given. Children of seven or eight would start at six in the morning, for if the children are late they do not get the meal. Without the meal they could not have got the children a furlong from their homes. And anywhere it is pretty difficult to get much into the head if there is not enough in the stomach. An old woman cooks the food for the children in return for her food and two rupees a month. This plan has also been tried with good results in a boarding school for the day pupils who come from the surrounding country.

It has been proved in isolated centres that with teachers of superior ability and training village children of outcaste origin can make progress comparable to children of the better classes in city schools. For example, missionary wives with educational training have applied themselves to the task of teaching beginners to read, with the result that they are demonstrating that the primer can be passed in one-third the time ordinarily taken. In method, in skill, in resourcefulness, they vastly surpass the village teacher. But the results show that the cause of stagnation is to be found in the lack of teacher training, and not necessarily in the stupidity of the pupils. When one is able to persuade a village teacher to lay aside the antiquated rote method so congenial to him, the pace in the lower classes is always quickened.

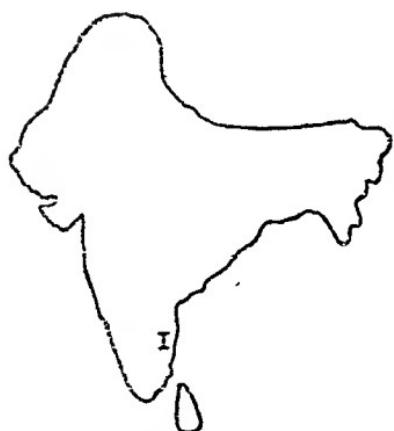
Thus one excellency is embodied here, and there another small advance has been made. One longs, however, to see a systematic concerted effort over a whole area under expert and experienced educational guidance. Such a model demonstration would undoubtedly make a contribution of value to India's rural problem.

SCHOOLS WITH A MESSAGE IN INDIA

CHAPTER I

A SCHOOL FOR HALF-TIME WORKERS¹

I



THE progress of industrial development in India has been delayed by the ignorance and conservatism of the uneducated workman. The evidence tendered to the recent Industrial Commission showed a practical unanimity of opinion that the labouring man, whether skilled or unskilled, should at least have a primary education.² But although India's employers of labour have recognized the advantages of elementary education

¹ The material for this chapter was obtained from two visits to the school run jointly by the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Madras; interviews with the principals; and from a pamphlet of information published by the mills, entitled *Buckingham and Carnatic Mills Joint School, Madras*.

² *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission (1916-18)*, p. 96.

for their working people, very few have made serious attempts to arrange for such education.

One notable exception is to be found in the school of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in Madras. These mills spin cotton yarn and manufacture cloth. In addition to this foundation business they have facilities for carrying out all their own repairs, with foundries, mechanical and carpentry workshops, and armature winding, besides bookbinding, paper ruling and printing, etc. Steam, oil, gas, hydraulic, compressed air, and electric power are in actual daily use. Including the space devoted to welfare work, these mills cover over one hundred acres, and employ over eleven thousand people. Two things are, therefore, evident: on the one hand, a boy with energy and ambition can find plenty of scope for choice of a trade; and on the other, the mills have an interest in attracting, developing, and retaining intelligent workmen. It is the second fact that led to the establishment of the mill schools.

The factory law in India allows the employment of children between the ages of nine and fourteen as 'half-timers,' i.e. for six hours a day. These two mills employ 1,700 such workers in the spinning and winding departments. Inasmuch as the European officers of the mills could not speak the vernacular of the employees, and constant misunderstandings and impositions arose through the use of interpreters, an additional reason was found for establishing a school for half-time workers.

II

The school was started in 1904, and since 1912 has been under the management of two joint principals,

European ladies of experience, one being a university graduate and the other a specialist in kindergarten work, who give their full time to supervision. The school premises consist of eighteen acres of land laid out in buildings, gardens, playing-fields, and gymnasium. The buildings consist of an administrative block, behind which is a row of eight class-rooms flanked by two assembly halls, behind which is an annexe with four more class-rooms. Still farther back are the kindergarten class-room, the kitchen, the sick-room, and the crèche. The workshops for the pupils are on the side.

Attendance upon the school is quite optional. One thousand three hundred of the 1,700 half-timers come, and also many of the children of employees. The half-timers are employed in the mills in two shifts; and so one section of boys comes from 7 to 10 a.m. and works in the mills from 12.30 to 6 p.m.; while the other section attends school from 2 to 4.30 p.m. and works in the mills from 6 a.m. to noon. Each month the sections interchange their work periods.

As the day school is intended mainly for half-timers, who have very little spare time and who must earn their own livelihood, the subjects chosen are few and as practical as possible. The chief points kept in mind in working out the courses are the shortness of the school life of the half-timers, the fact that the parents of the children are uneducated and do not know the value of education, the tendency of the people to despise manual work, and the economic necessity of the boys learning a trade. The resulting curriculum, therefore, includes reading and writing in the vernacular, conversational English, arithmetic, drawing, gardening, hygiene, and some form of industrial work. In the uppermost classes

(the third and fourth grades or standards) general knowledge is taught by means of conversational lessons in geography, history, and civics.

III

Although the principals had money at their disposal, this alone could not have created such a school. The utmost firmness, common sense, and executive ability were required. The teachers available in the beginning were wretched in quality; they would falsify their registers, and actually combined to prevent the principals securing a basis for determining regularity of attendance. They did not seem to have eyes for seeing even an eruptive disease, and would not send pupils to the doctor, although one was on duty only a few yards away for the very purpose of caring for the children. Thus teachers had to be developed.

Moreover, all the pupils at first wanted to be clerks, and made applications only for positions in the 'clean room' or warehouse. As most of the boys were low caste, and many of them outcastes, the management felt that a type of education that would prepare them only for clerkships would be most unwise from the standpoint of the pupils. It was therefore decided that they should pursue studies no further than the fourth standard. This plan also best met their object of developing intelligent artisans, not petty writers.

What, however, proved to be a positive solution of this stampede toward the 'clean room' was the introduction of practical work in carpentry, blacksmithing, tinsmithing, tailoring, weaving, painting, whitewashing, and small repairs on the school premises. Through the

practical and industrial classes boys are now learning, if not the dignity of labour, at least its higher remuneration. Instead of the overwhelming applications for writerships, the management now has more applicants for work in the mechanical departments than there are vacancies.

A surprising amount of freedom is granted the boys in this practical work. Each day a boy may choose anew to which of the eleven shops he will go. This would seem an impossible plan. But it is all done in a few minutes, and it does not appear to demoralize the order or business-like tone of the school. As each class starts to the shop the boys state their preference, and that ends the matter unless the limit has already been reached for that particular shop. The boys are allowed, also, to run into the shops after school or on Saturday mornings. The theory is that boys, at the earlier ages especially, cannot intelligently choose a trade. By this plan they come to understand tools, and to know what can be done with them. (See Plates ii and iii.) The management

incentive to them. By this unforced process they soon come to know what they like, and later ask to be taken on as apprentices according to their bent.

This, however, does not mean that serious work is not accomplished in these practical hours. The teachers for this work are, in fact, taken from the mill staffs. Their pay is debited half to the mills and half to the school, for they bring over from the mills simple but actually needed pieces of work. Hence the boys are working on real things. From a strictly educational standpoint each boy or group of boys should complete the 'project' upon which he starts.¹ No special effort seemed to be made to observe this principle, especially where the work was on things to be used in the mill. The teachers continue their work in the school shop between classes, just as any other adult mill employee.

A night school, graded up to the seventh standard, was opened to provide continuation work for the day-school pupils who had become full-time workers. In this school provision was eventually made for adult workers also. Besides reading, writing, and arithmetic, provision is made for foremen and draughtsmen from the mills to give technical instruction in the theory of spinning, weaving, practical electricity, geometric drawing, machine drawing, and building construction. Every few months an examination is held by the European officers of the respective departments. This gives an opportunity of observing men with special talent or application, and upon such knowledge advancement in the mills is often based. The night school is, therefore, 'up-grading' in its results. Both the day and night schools have a

¹ For a recent and stimulating treatment of the project method see *Teaching by Projects*, Chas. A. McMurray (MacMillan, £1.32, 1920).

thoroughly practical air about them. Should a teacher be unexpectedly absent, an older boy will carry on, and the others will obey him without question.

IV

Welfare work of various kinds is undertaken. A school kitchen, for example, meets a variety of needs. In some cases it is difficult for the boys to get their food at home in time for the day school. Pupils who attend the night school go to the kitchen for coffee, tea, and bread after they leave work at 6 p.m. If the boys bring their own lunches, the cook will store them in a room provided for the purpose. At recess time, both morning and afternoon, boys go to the kitchen for some coffee or a bit of food, supplied at cost price. The boys are encouraged to use the kitchen for cooking or heating up their own food between 10 a.m. and 2 p.m. Firewood and boiling water are supplied without charge. In encouraging the use of these, as of all other facilities, no pressure is used, as it is the policy of the management to permit the boys to accept or reject improvements on their merits.

An open-air bath is provided, and near by a place where the boys are encouraged to wash their clothes. Charcoal flat-irons are available for the boys to do their own ironing, and on Saturday afternoon there is great demand for these things.

The mill doctors make a regular medical inspection. If a boy is thin or is still weak from illness, he is given an order on the kitchen for a plate of rice and sugar, a piece of bread, and a cup of tea each day until he becomes normal. When a boy attends school with a slight fever, he is given medicine and sent to lie down in a special

room. This is considered a better plan than to send him home to a room that is unsanitary and poorly ventilated.

In view of the attractions and obvious advantages of attending this school, it is interesting to note that the ladies in charge consider that even their conditions are such that the pupils must be encouraged by prizes. The night-school children receive warm blouses at Christmas-time, and the day-school children have prizes twice a year. Most of these prizes—buttons, towels, turbans, etc.—are things which have been made by the boys in the practical classes. To the beginners and small children monthly prizes of very small toys are given as a reward for perfect attendance. Though as a rule habits come from the discovery of real motives, it is said that by these prizes a habit of school-going may be formed. One is struck with the fact that in India prizes are used as a system of motivation to an extent that they would not be used by any reputable school in the West. Prizes may easily do harm where the competitive element is emphasized, or where the pupils are not rapidly led on to continue their work for something else than prizes. However, in a climate which is enervating, and where public opinion in favour of education is very backward, prizes seem necessary to make the initial start. In many places it is only in this way that children are induced to get the very experience upon which a higher appeal may later be made. But prizes should be recognized as signs of failure to awaken stimulus from the educational activities themselves. They are an appeal to external motives. They are emergency measures to be supplanted by a more educative motivation. Where a prize system has been long in vogue one would seriously question

whether sufficient effort had been made to enlist the higher educational and moral motives, or whether the type of education given actually vitalized life.

It has taken years to change the attitude of the parents from that of mere condescension in permitting their children to attend as a favour to the company to a real belief in the school. Their interest was in rice and rupees, and at first they saw no relation between these and education. But when the practical courses were introduced and practical results demonstrated, they began to see the value of education.

V

The managers are in no doubt as to the good results of the school. They see raw boys come in rough and awkward. So great a change takes place in face and manner after the first year that visitors think they must belong to a higher caste. The boys used to be rowdy in the mills; but now discipline is much easier. Those who attend school are notably more clean, alert, intelligent, and healthy than those who do not. The industrial bias imparted by the kind of education given them has had the result of keeping the pupils in the mills as intelligent and effective workers, instead of leading them to desire clerical appointments. For such reasons as these the school is regarded as a good investment.

The managers by no means pose as philanthropists in this work. On the contrary, they say it was started as a commercial proposition, and that as such it has fully justified itself. In spirit they say to each worker: 'Along with drawing your cheque, you have a right to healthy recreation and to education. This is not a

charity; it is your right. We give the opportunity; you may take it or leave it.' Business principles limit school privileges to boys who are either themselves workers or sons of workers. Pity or charity does not admit a boy. He must qualify at the mill gate with other applicants for work. Thus limiting their problem, they are able to compass it.

All would agree, undoubtedly, that it is society's business to educate these factory children. No one could rightly demand that the factories should do this. In the present backward stage of education in India, however, private effort should help. Would that other employers had the conviction and constructive initiative of the men responsible for the enterprise described in this chapter.

But what about the on-coming factory population of India? While the problem is still of manageable dimensions, the best experience of the world should be brought to bear upon it. Almost inevitably back of these factory schools is the conception of education for economic purposes, and of the child as a mere producer. The same objection is brought by trade unions against the introduction by a capitalistic society of vocational training into the common school education of the West. They say this education is directed toward the maintenance of society as now organized, toward the development of high-grade workers in a profit system, and that the pupil is thought of only as an economic unit. In India, as in the West, a time will come when workers will demand an education that develops personality, and a task in a democratized industry. As an immediate practical step toward this distant ideal let schools of the Madras type increase.

CHAPTER II

A MODIFIED APPRENTICE SCHOOL

I



VALUABLE as may become the contribution made by factories to industrial education, this in itself is certain to prove inadequate to the needs of India. Machinery and repairs and artisans are increasingly required for India's 270 cotton mills, with their 115,000 looms and 284,000 employees; for her 76 jute mills, with their

40,000 looms and 270,000 employees; for the rolling-stock and upkeep of the 36,000 miles of railway; for the great steel-rolling mills, two of which are capable of turning out 324,000 tons of steel per annum; and for such smaller industries as tea gardens, tanneries, oil and grain mills, and water and electric light plants in the larger towns.

Moreover, as in the West, there will be those who are so 'thing-minded,' or are so pressed economically, that they will need more intensive industrial training than can be secured in such a school as was described in the first chapter, where the vocational training was limited to only one or two periods a day. Under the old

apprentice system such beginners were often made the drudge for one or two adults, and they simply picked up what they could in an uneducational way. Under the modified apprentice system some ten boys or so are put under a skilled workman, who is paid a full salary for working with the boys on commercially useful things.

There are special reasons why Christians need a school of this sort. They encounter peculiar difficulties in getting a start as skilled workmen. In India religion and caste often control admission to apprenticeships. The great majority of the Christian community has come from the submerged outcaste strata, and many have absolutely no industrial traditions. How, then, can they break into a new and higher mode of subsistence? Twenty years ago the Decennial Conference at Madras pointed out¹ that owing to caste prejudices it is seldom that non-Christian foremen or workmen will give Christians the practical instruction that would enable them to learn their trade. An eminent commercial man, the manager of one of the largest factories in India, was quoted as saying that Christian apprentices have but little chance of getting on in such a factory. However sympathetic and considerate the European foreman may be; prejudices of caste and race in the *maistri* (sub-foremen) put every obstacle in the way of a Christian boy's gaining a mastery of the trade. Cases have been known where Christian youths have been refused admittance to a large European engineering firm because the manager feared trouble from a possible boycott by non-Christians. Apart from such prejudices there is another problem—

¹ Report of the Fourth Decennial Indian Missionary Conference (1902), p. 143.

that of the prevailing low moral tone in many of the mills and factories. For these two reasons it is of importance that suitable institutions be developed where Christian lads may acquire industrial skill under favourable conditions. For of course it is most desirable, both for India's sake as well as for the poverty-stricken Church of India, that Christians should have a share in the great industrial awakening of India.

It was with the object of helping a group of Christian boys to acquire trade skill that an industrial school was opened at Baranagore¹ in 1906. It is situated on the trunk road five miles north of Calcutta. Here about thirty-four boys (largely the children of widows in an associated widows' home, or orphans adopted by them) are engaged in making such things as brass locks, screws, bolts, bell-metal work, moulding and engraving brass animals and ornaments, working up to general proficiency as turners or fitters. (See Plate iv.) At a recent entertainment the boys themselves set forth the variety of their undertakings in the following clever rhyme, which incidentally shows the sources from which orders come :—

Ladies and gentlemen ! accept, we pray,
Our thanks for your presence among us to-day ;
And bear with us, while your attention we draw
To our various work, both in peace and in war.

The soldiers in Mespot have often used oil
Kept in bottles of brass supplied by our toil,
Many muzzle protectors and cartridge-belt studs
Have gone from our workshops to their fighting squads.

¹ Industrial Orphanage, Baranagore, Bengal ; Miss J. A. Evans, superintendent, Church of England Zenana Mission.

Now that thrice-welcome peace has filled us with joy,
 And war-work no longer provides our employ,
 Our turners and fitters and moulders are free
 For orders from jute mills, and railways, and ' tea.'

For Assam tea-gardens we've sifters and driers ;
 For jute mills, cop spindles and brass gills and fliers ;
 For steamers, for trains, and for warehouses, locks ;
 For municipal hydrants the best water-cocks.

In exalted position our work may be seen,
 For Government House a good patron has been ;
 Brass handles for drawer-chests, and castors for chairs,
 And eyes for the brass rods on viceregal stairs.

We are glad to receive large orders or small,
 And try, by good work, to satisfy all,
 And be worthy that friends may us truly call
 ' Very industrious boys of Bengal.'

They make it a matter of principle never to put the boys to work on any useless thing. Notwithstanding the fact that the work has to be thrown away if it is a failure, this plan gives the boys the joy of doing something that is meant to count. They work at standard bazaar rates. For example, suppose an article would take a mature workman three days. If it is not completed in this time, the boy knows that he must work on at it without additional pay. He knows that this is not a punishment, but simply because he is slower. It is becoming plain to managers of the most successful industrial schools in India that if boys are ever to become successful workmen they must be trained *from the first* under commercial conditions, measuring themselves constantly against the general trade standards of speed and quality. Unless they are held up to this throughout

their training they are apt to go out weak and soft and expecting preferential treatment. Theoretically it might seem unwise to let them learn through mistakes on good material—a plan which involves a direct loss. But experience in some of the best schools is showing that the financial loss is as nothing compared with the loss in habit and morale from setting them to futile tasks. In the Baranagore School, even for the younger boys, something in the way of real work could generally be found, like testing oil-bottles, filing off the ends of nails, etc.

It is interesting that this fits in exactly with the experience of Hampton Institute, as formulated after five decades of effort at industrial training :—

' The trade school of to-day represents the present stage of an evolutionary process which has been going on for the past fifty years. In its industries the school has always laid emphasis on the production of things the world needs and wants. The difficulties in using unskilled workers to produce things of value, and through this work to develop skilled workmen, are many and great. The easier way would have been to devise a series of technical exercises which should bring into play in logical sequence all the tools of a given trade and graduate those who upon a final examination showed a proper efficiency in the tasks which had been given them to do. Such a course would not have produced the kind of workmen the world finds useful. It would have been as abstract, as formal, as unrelated to life, and altogether as futile as much academic training has been and unfortunately still is.

' While the Trade School, when opened in 1896, was intended to give preparatory training which should fit students for the productive industries, as the years go by less and less use is made of purely technical exercises as a necessary preliminary to doing something intrinsically worth while. Commercial work usually contains problems of a character simple enough for the primary training of beginners, and through this the student advances to work of increasing difficulty. The doing of something really

worth while furnishes a motive to the student for the putting forth of his best efforts which no formal exercises, however well conceived, can equal.'¹

The boys at Baranagore have a chance at simple literary education in a night school. There is a small day school for younger children. Twelve out of the thirty-seven are boarders. The Christians among these day pupils must work in the shops for two hours every day; the others may go if they wish.

Slowly—very slowly—through these sixteen years the equipment has grown. A small Government grant has been given, but no money at all has been received from the mission—it being a zenana mission, intended only for work among women. A big planing machine, working on roving bars, and worth \$300, was the gift of the Government. Several valuable machines were given by Calcutta firms. If any capital had been available, growth could have been much quicker, but there never has been any working capital except what has been saved from profits—a lamentable handicap that missions in general have evidently felt it perfectly proper to make their industrial establishments undergo.

It is noteworthy, therefore, that with an annual turnover of Rs.34,000 the shop pays for itself, including a fair salary to the manager along with a bonus of 1 per cent. on the net income, and that profits are available, from which an English master for the night school is paid, the small boys are clothed and fed, new tools are bought when required, repairs are carried out, a music teacher for violin and harmonium lessons is supplied for the evening recreation hour, and Rs.100 per month are

¹ *The Hampton Bulletin*, vol. xiv, p. 36.

given toward the expenses of the day school for the smaller boys. This is an exceptionally fine record.

The older boys in this school are making Rs.20 to 100 per month. Surely the time will come when Indian boys will begin to see how much better they will be able to live as skilled workmen than in petty clerkships at the end of a literary course. Then, perhaps, the idea that only dullards and dunces should go to an industrial school will pass away, and with the coming of a better quality of pupils to the industrial schools the hope of turning out industrial leaders will be less visionary.

In the working out of such a school, experience has shown that it is a fatal mistake to permit the boys to remain indefinitely after they have learned their trade. There are many examples in India which show that the formation of a Christian community dependent on such an institution is unwise. Such a sheltered group tends to grow selfish, and generally lacks that vigour and manliness which is developed only where men must fight their own battles with the world. There is a distinct loss in leavening influence, also, when mature Christians continue to group themselves together. Every boy entering a modified apprentice school should understand from the beginning that his training is for a limited period. Doubtless it would be well for such a school to have a few model cottages where their graduates could live for a definitely limited time while they are making the transition from school to independent life.¹ But it should be understood that in so far as a school for its own financial interest allows its graduate workmen to be retained, it is changing from a school to a factory. Utterly different objectives lie behind these two things,

¹ Cf. *Report of the Mussuree Conference* (1906), p. 34.

and many mission institutions drift from one to the other without realizing the implications of the change.

II

The most inspiring thing about the school at Baranagore is the way in which it came into existence. It centres about an Indian character of remarkable faith and singleness of purpose, who has been the moving spirit in these workshops, scheming and contriving to expand their usefulness and make them a success.¹ Let us go back about thirty years and glance at the story of Nistarini, a widow who came out from Hinduism with her three children, and took refuge in the Widows' Industrial Home at Baranagore. One of these children was Amrito, a lad of ten years, who was put in a school in Calcutta. After Amrito had been five years at school, friends who had been supporting him decided to apprentice him to the Government gun factory as an engraver. This was contrary to all the ambitions of Amrito and his mother. Why should he learn a trade? His father had been a clerk. If he should continue his schooling but a little longer, he, too, might become a clerk. They pleaded with tears for a reversal of the sentence, but in vain, and Amrito, disconsolate, was sent off to the factory. Once the matter was decided, he made the best of it, applied himself to his new work with the same plodding industry he had shown at school. He was never absent for a day, even when he had a legitimate excuse. His employers, pleased with his steadiness, soon promoted him, and he was eleven years in the factory.

During this time he had been growing spiritually, and

¹ The material for the following sketch was taken from a pamphlet, *Amrito's Boys*, issued by the school.

an increasing desire to do some definite work for God came to him. The way was at last made plain. He had seen that Miss Evans, the superintendent of the Converts' Industrial Home at Baranagore, had under her care about eighteen boys; her burden was getting bigger, and school fees were heavy. One day she asked him rather vaguely if he could teach them any trade. At first he was not willing for so much trouble, and gave her no definite answer. But that night he could not sleep. He struggled with his ambition for honour and money where he was; but before morning he had made his decision. Next day he went to Miss Evans, and said, ' Could you trust me to begin a school for these boys? I will take no pay from the missionaries. We must make our school self-supporting. Will you lend me the money to start it? '

Thus was Amrito led to dedicate himself to his life-work. For two years he laboured unceasingly to make the school self-supporting. Instead of the high wage he had been getting, he took only Rs.10 per month for two years while the establishment was getting under way. According to custom he had already purchased jewellery for a future bride. But this he brought to Miss Evans, ' for of course I will give up all thought of marriage until the school gets on its feet.' After several years he did marry, and for thirteen years he lived in a small mud house—this skilled mechanic who could have made three or four times as much in the open market any day.

When the school was started, a friend gave the money for the work-shed, tools, and a turning-lathe. Others contributed toward the purchase of land. The beginnings were simple. Each necessitated the enlargement of the shed. The buildings

would strike one as insignificant. When one sees how, after one lathe had been given, six small ones were made by the boys themselves; how boards from boxes were turned into shelves and drawers; how every piece of cast-off metal that could be found seemed capable under him of doing service in some improvised machine, one realizes how few foreigners would ever have dreamed of accomplishing so much with such limited resources.

Although desperately pressed for funds, he adhered strictly to his high principles. Early in his work of developing the school a Hindu friend, who worked in the Government plant from which Amrito had come, wanted to show his interest, and offered to come every Sunday—his only leisure time—and use the big lathe, giving all the product to the school. But Amrito said it would spoil the church and Sunday-school service, and refused the proffered help. Trade temptations, also, came to him. Dealers offered to pay him well if he would make for them a two-lever lock and stamp it on the outside as a four-lever lock.

In the mud hut first used by the school Amrito put up this motto in Bengali: 'God is Almighty.' When, a few years ago, a new brick dormitory was built, this same motto was copied over its door. As one walks about the buildings, one may see over the entrance of another building a second motto: 'Pray devoutly, labour stoutly.'

III

There is another school we should take time to examine, situated at Faridpur, Bengal.¹ Here carpentry is the

¹ Technical School, Faridpur, Bengal; Rev. L. Barber, superintendent, Australian Board of Baptist Foreign Missions.

basis of the training. As in Baranagore, an important underlying principle is that it is not enough to teach the use of tools and to develop good workmen, but that actual conditions of labour must be faced and met. The superintendent believes that until a boy starts to support himself he does not take his work seriously, nor does he develop the efficiency needed for success.

The mission field is strewn with failures in the very difficult problem of providing industrial training. May not one common cause have been that the lads are not drilled to hard work, are not sensible of steady, expert supervision, nor are they sufficiently impressed with the consequences of idling and of slovenly work? Although this school is willing to take in boys to save them from weak and bad parents, or from the evil influences of the bazaar where they may have been allowed to run loose, it is well understood that a lazy boy will not long be tolerated. Fear, of course, should never be the dominant motive, for much better results come from developing a sense of purpose. But purpose is not stimulated in an atmosphere of slackness. Hence this school rightly aims to be a Christian business concern, where boys must both learn and earn, and as soon as possible support themselves. The prevailing spirit is not that of schoolboys, but of 'men' earning their own living.

Various methods are used to accustom the boys to conditions which a good contractor would know how to meet. For example, the boys attend an estimate class for an hour each day. Before this class are brought specifications for actual jobs that must be done—furniture, houses, and the like—and the boys make their estimates of the cost, and compare their work with the official estimate made by the office. Again each boy is

given a time-sheet with each new job. On that sheet are given the orders, dimensions, estimated time required, etc. If the boy takes longer he must work on the job out of hours. When the work is finished, time and quality marks are recorded, and the card is filed away as part of the data on which the boy's grades and prospects are based.

Pupils are graded in four groups.¹ The *primary school* is made up of boys too young for the workshops. Hence they attend ordinary classes each day. In the morning they have cleaning-up jobs in the hostels and workshops, while on Saturday they attend a special carpentry class, where they learn to make small articles, such as stools and boxes, out of scraps. These boys generally develop into the best workmen, growing up as they do in the atmosphere of happy toil and the fascination of making things. Big boys coming to the school often object to work and discipline.

The *village carpentry grade* spend all their time for training in the workshop. As far as possible they are taught to make those things which are needed in the villages: stools, wooden beds, windows, doors, and all the simple fittings of a native house. Contracts are taken by the school for putting up small houses, so that the boys are also taught to line up posts, rafters, and battens, and to put on tile or tin roofs. In that part of India a boy with very little skill and experience can earn a good wage in the villages putting up houses.

In the *furniture-making grade* boys learn polishing, lathe-work, enough iron-work to enable them to temper tools, as well as to make them out of old files, chisels, etc.

¹ The data with reference to the school have come from an interview with the superintendent, private letters, and reports.

Cane-work is taught to the extent of enabling them to cane a chair.

The highest grade is *advanced carpentry*. Here speed must be attained, and the standard of work must be high. All through the course a fight has to be made against slovenly and insincere work. Daily each boy's work is examined for quality and quantity, and there is a rule that no mortise is to be pinned until it has been inspected. Many a chair has been broken up and the boy fined because of loose joints shoved together in any way and hurriedly pinned before the superintendent could inspect it. In the workshop putty is prohibited, except to the polisher, who is allowed a limited amount.

Every boy in the workshop receives a wage. A new boy is expected to figure out each month exactly what his labour has been worth, so that he knows just to what extent he is a loss to the school.¹ More experienced boys get a wage based on the quality and quantity of their work. Wages are kept low, for with a number of untrained boys it is exceedingly easy to end the year with a debit balance. After the annual stock-taking, however, each boy receives a share of the profits in addition to his wage.

With his wage the boy feeds and clothes himself, and the management does the best it can for the boy by

¹ Cf.: 'The writer is convinced that as soon as we really find ourselves in the pedagogy of vocational education we shall evolve and resolutely hold to the principle that learners engaged in productive work as an educational process shall receive in wages the net worth of their work—its total value less a reasonable charge for interest, rent, overhead charges, direction (not including education), etc. The value of this wage for pedagogical purposes, as giving its learner a constant measure of his product—qualitatively and quantitatively—will be incalculable.'—*Vocational Education*, David Snedden, p. 23 (Macmillan, £2.75, 1920).

providing hostels, cooking arrangements, and rice and cloth at wholesale rates, thus helping the boys to live cheaply. The boys in this way learn what amount of labour is necessary to feed and clothe themselves. When a boy rises to a new grade he gets an increase of wages, but this increase has to be put in the school savings bank against the time when he leaves school. Then a complete kit of tools is bought and the boy is set up. This reserve fund keeps the boys steady, for they can lose it by continued disobedience. It also keeps a boy from dropping out thoughtlessly, for these boys have not the slightest hesitation in clearing out for a month or so when they are angry or aggrieved.

There is at present an enrolment of fifty in the school. Some of the boys go off to good positions in Calcutta. But experience has shown that a Christian boy has little chance in a Hindu or Mohammedan shop, where the atmosphere is apt to be hostile and the treatment unfair. The manager, therefore, is bringing before the boys the benefits of co-operation, and encouraging them to form little firms in up-country towns. It seems a healthy sign that, where manual labour is so often scorned, there are more applicants for admission than can be accommodated.

A school like this often has to struggle along for lack of proper financial support. At Faridpur the boys worked on for years under very disheartening conditions. A broken tin roof leaked badly in the rains, sometimes spoiling the work, and baking them in the hot weather. The accommodation was so limited that half the boys had to go out under the trees or in the sun, where wind and dust were hard on finish. It has only been in the last year that a new brick building has been secured, with the

help of mission and Government, providing ample space for fifty boys to work, besides an office and polishing room.

A second handicap for most industrial schools is the kind of boy-material with which they have to work. Boys are sent who have failed in their literary work. They come with an aggrieved and insulted feeling that their literary powers have been doubted. Consumed with the thought of what they might have become as *pundits*, they scorn work like carpentry, which to them is plebeian. Others may have become a shame and menace to their community through careless upbringing. These naturally dislike discipline and work, and require the utmost patience and friendly guidance. If a rule is enforced too stringently, the boy runs away. In speaking of such boys, the superintendent of this Bengal school gives us a glimpse into the spirit which pervades the place :

' By work—strenuous, clean, exact, joyful ; by the example of Christ ; by the power of His life and love through us, we seek to wean our boys away from a thriftless and evil past, and to build up in them a new life, a new ambition, and a new hope, to the glory of God and a joy to us. We cannot touch some—warped and useless planks—we can only pray that the Galilean Carpenter will, with other hands than our clumsy ones, succeed where we have failed.'

IV

What has been accomplished at Baranagore and at the struggling school at Faridpur could doubtless be done on a larger and more systematic scale. In fact, the success of the experiment at Baranagore has been a very real factor in stimulating plans for a large engineering

works,¹ embodying the same principles. As a rule the small mission workshops cannot provide the facilities for the workers which would be possible in a larger establishment where the pupils have the advantage of working on a variety of actual engineering orders, and where standard engineering practice of all sorts is experienced every day.

Let us look with some detail at the proposal, for it is an illustration of a method by which the industrial wealth and experience of the West should more and more be placed at the disposal of less advanced peoples. There is a large place in Africa and Oriental lands for concerns under Christian management, independent of missions, and yet in close and sympathetic accord with them, with constitutions providing that shareholders may receive a certain fixed net dividend (say 5 per cent.), and that all surplus profits shall be used for the promotion of the religious, moral, intellectual, and industrial education and welfare of the people of these lands. Such companies would be practical expressions of the principle that the commercial development of these lands should be in the interest of their peoples. Their appeal would be to investors who desire, not so much a high rate of profit from trade as a scheme whereby any profits in excess of a fair limited rate should be allocated for the welfare of the people amongst whom the companies work.²

This particular proposal is that Christian business men should, upon some such conditions as we have just stated, provide the capital for the gradual development of a

¹ See pamphlet and manuscript plans for a General Engineering Works, by Capt. E. Lawrence, Rull, Cullompton, Devon.

² Cf. the Prospectus of the recently organized Commonwealth Trust, Ltd., care of Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 35 Old Jewry, London, E.C.

general engineering works, employing much labour at many trades. Here again the object would be to give Christian apprentices the opportunity thoroughly to master the theoretical and practical details of some industrial or engineering line, under wholesome but strictly commercial conditions, and with the definite idea that trained workers would be continuously urged out to set up for themselves.

To begin with, the concern would make certain standard articles ; would secure the agency for the manufacture and sale of certain patented machines, such as agricultural presses or water-pumps that are coming into large use in India ; and with these as a basis would gradually take on contracts for an increasing variety of work.

A thoroughly trained and experienced engineer would need to be at the head of such a concern, and similar men at the heads of the various departments. Otherwise it could not hope to succeed financially. But those interested in the plan feel confident that first-class Christian artisans could be secured in the West who would be glad to be a part of a concern rendering such an important service to the Christian youth of India.

The projected plans for an establishment employing 200 men and 150 apprentices call for three managers : general, accounts, and stores ; and eighteen foremen, such as pattern-maker, carpenter, machinist, moulder, blacksmith, plumber, electrician, and mason. The capital required for starting would be about \$40,000. Naturally, all of these men and funds would not be needed at the start. It is just possible that some mission would permit its industrial school to be moved to a commercial centre, foster the development for two or three years, and then turn it over for management to a

body of technical and business men, who would work apart from but in thorough sympathy with missions.

The management hope to care for the spiritual and home welfare of the workers and their dependents by housing them in a suitably arranged and regulated colony, where religious training could be given, sports arranged, and general necessities provided at a low cost through co-operative purchase. As workers secured their training and passed out to higher positions in engineering firms, it is hoped that they would be able to command respect and have considerable influence among the workers. For the welfare side of the work, the plans call for one experienced lady missionary, probably the wife of the manager; one Indian Bible woman; and one married Indian pastor. For those village Christian youths whose outlet on the land seems to be closed, such a concern would undoubtedly prove a great blessing.

CHAPTER III

VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS FOR THE VILLAGES

I



THE schools described in the first two chapters definitely look toward the city. Great as is the city drift in response to the growth of industry, nevertheless, with some 71 per cent. of the population engaged in agriculture, there must be schools which expect villages to absorb their product. As an example of this type we will

take the Manual Training Institute at Dornakal, in the dominions of the Nizam of Hyderabad. For a considerable number of years there has been a primary boarding school at Dornakal, teaching through the fifth standard (or grade), and requiring hand-work. The Manual Training Institute was recently started to provide for pupils after the fifth standard, while at the same time systematizing and managing the hand-work of the junior pupils.

Dornakal is the centre for the home missionary work of one of the oldest and strongest Indian Christian communities. Their society¹ began its work here in

¹ The Indian Missionary Society of Tinnevelly.

1903, and now has extended it to three *tahsils*, under five ordained Tamil missionaries, seven Tamil lay workers and forty Telugu workers. One of these missionaries, Rev. V. S. Azariah, was in 1912 consecrated as the first Indian Bishop of the Church of England, with headquarters at Dornakal. In his diocese, besides this purely Indian mission, is a mission of the Church Missionary Society in the Nizam's Dominions, and two other missions of this society in the Madras Presidency. The Bishop has been the moving spirit in developing the industrial school. Being in the Nizam's Dominions, the developments were not complicated by any educational codes or provisions attached to grants-in-aid, as is common in British India.

Apart from the bungalow in which the Bishop lives, funds at Dornakal have not been put into expensive buildings. In fact, they reveal the narrow margin on which the mission must be run. One of the buildings used for class-rooms by day and a girls' hostel at night is an old distillery, purchased with its two wells and compound for Rs.300. The chapel is a simple but especially dignified building in structure and furnishing.

Several factors had to be taken into consideration in working out the type of school best suited to the people. There were the pressing problems of the support and education of illiterate Christians brought in by the mass movements and the recent famine. One definite object in starting the school was to develop in the Christian boys and girls of the Dornakal diocese a spirit of self-reliance and self-respect. The Bishop did not wish to repeat the mistake of many missions and do too much for the people. To combat laziness and a tendency to dependence, he felt that manual labour was essential, and in

the development of his plans drew much inspiration from Hampton and Tuskegee. A rule was made that no boy or girl should be admitted to the Training Institute who was not willing to contribute toward his or her board either by money or labour, and definite opportunities were arranged for pupils to earn money by manual work. (See Plate v.) Besides the regular industries, the pupils were encouraged to do as much as possible for themselves. On Thursdays the girls' washing is done by five of the girls; on Fridays four boys wash the boys' clothes. On Saturday morning all the children clean up the premises, and gather firewood in the afternoon. They carry water, break stone, repair floors, and two boys are now learning to cut the hair of the rest. The parents and pupils did not, of course, want this work, and the boys would have much preferred to sit like little maharajahs and be waited upon. But from the very first the Bishop insisted on their working, even working with them at the start, and withholding food unless they had sweat on their foreheads.

A second reason for the school grew out of the missionary needs of his district. The Indian Missionary Society of Tinnevelly was not wealthy, and necessity compelled it to devise some plan for carrying on its work in an inexpensive way. This led them to endeavour to develop a body of self-supporting workers. Boys trained as weavers or as farmers would be provided with land or a loom in a given village, would support themselves by industry during the day, and at night would instruct the people, while their wives might be running the day school for the village—all without other expense to the mission than interest on the investment in the land or loom used by the man.

Still a third object was indirectly to raise the Telugu Christian community economically and socially by giving children an education that would relate them to their home conditions. Directly, the school serves, as will be seen, as a centre for community betterment.¹

The Dornakal school, as far as class-room work is concerned, is co-educational. Three of the fifteen teachers are women, and they take the lowest classes. All the instruction is in Telugu, no English at all being taught. The daily programme naturally varies with the season, but a typical day goes as follows :

Morning :

- 5. Rising and short prayer.
- 5.30. Drill for boys.
- 6-9. All, manual work. Boys or girls, farming, weaving, sweeping. Boys only, carpentry. Girls, sewing, cooking.
- 9-10. Breakfast and private Bible reading (with notes in Telugu on passage read out in the morning).
- 10-1. Seniors, manual work. Juniors, class-work.

Afternoon :

- 1. Mid-day meal.
- 1.30-2. Rest. .
- 2-2.45. All, Scripture.
- 2.45-3.30. Seniors, class-work.
- 3.30-5. Seniors, arithmetic and vocational study. Juniors, manual work.
- 5-6. Games.
- 6.30-7.30. Food and evening prayer.
- 7.30-8.30. Night study.
- 9. In bed.

¹ Excellent American examples of the school as a community centre are described in *Country Life and the Country School*, Mabel Carney (Row, Peterson & Co., \$1.25, 1912), and *New Schools for Old*, Evelyn Dewey (Dutton, \$2.00, 1919).

It will be noticed that this programme does not leave enough time for sleep.

Farm-work is the main occupation. The school has over fifty acres of land. Of these, forty are dry land with one well, on which sorghum, millet, dhal, grains, and castor are grown ; four are watered by two wells, growing two crops of maize and vegetables ; three acres are wet land for rice ; and six miles away from the school are seven more acres of wet land.

The field-work of the pupils is directed by a farm committee, which meets every week. Under it are five workers : a farm manager, who takes charge of the harvests and the finances ; three teachers, who help in supervising the children ; and a man trained by the Y.M.C.A., who gives lectures on agriculture.

The Bishop and his assistants aim to read the agricultural bulletins issued by the Government, and to try such recommendations as seem appropriate. They are training their boys in seed selection, each one tying a red cloth about the largest ear he can see in the field. The practical usefulness of this is plain, for the surrounding farmers are paying four cents an ear for selected maize from Allahabad, which is ten times what they would pay for ordinary seed. The single planting of paddy (rice) has been introduced and found profitable. Often farmers come and ask that the boys show them how it is done. For dry land they are not satisfied with a mere scratching of the surface with a country plough (initial cost Rs.3, upkeep per year Rs.5 to 8), but secure a deeper ploughing with the Neston plough (initial cost Rs.12 plus upkeep of As.12), or the Pipe plough (initial cost Rs.25, upkeep As.12). Manures were almost thrown away by the surrounding farmers until the school

began to buy them up for trenching and general use. Now the farmers are beginning to use manures. An effort is on foot to make the village schools in the diocese centres of agricultural help. They distribute improved paddy from Madras and other selected seeds. They sell ploughs, give information concerning better breeds of cattle, etc. It is comparatively easy to get land about Dornakal,¹ and it is hoped that many village schools can be provided with land. If a school had two acres of garden land watered from a well, on which the children could work, it is estimated that enough produce could be raised to enable the school to pay the boys a rupee a month for nine months.

In order to make this agricultural training as effective as possible, land is purchased by the mission. On this land boys are placed who have been trained to be provident in the school, with the expectation that they will be able gradually to pay for their plots.

Weaving is a second industry. For this they have two instructors. Eight boys and two girls are taking up this industry, four at the looms and six younger ones helping. To equip the shed they had bought one loom of each type, and had these copied in the school carpentry shop. All the cloths worn by the children are woven here, and made up by the girls in their sewing classes. It is felt by the management that weaving affords good moral training, for the hours are regular, and if a mistake is made in the work, a boy must go back and correct it, or else acknowledge failure. In judging of this, however, care should be taken to observe whether the qualities developed in weaving actually 'transfer' to life apart

¹ Some good dry land has been obtained at Rs.2 per acre. Recently ten acres were bought at Rs.4 per acre. This is exceptional for India.

from weaving. Modern studies in formal discipline discount the probability of the automatic transfer of capacities from the sphere where they have been developed to dissimilar conditions. Six trained boys have been sent out, and thus far five have stuck to their trade. But it is very hard to get adults to take up new methods. Sometimes villagers are brought in and shown how for Rs.5 an old loom can be fitted with improvements. Where they could make only Rs.4 per month under old conditions, they could make Rs.11 under the new. Sad to say, however, three trained adults have, after going back to their villages, relapsed into the old methods, not having enough initiative to stem the tide of custom.

In still other ways what seem like obviously possible improvements may not always work. For example, one day a demonstration was made in the school of a new warping machine, costing only Rs.30, by which 150 yards could be turned out in eight hours, whereas in the village it takes a man a day and a half to do twenty yards. Why did they not take it up? Because this is manifestly a machine for producing warp in quantity, and the market of the village weaver is the village itself, where no more than ten or twenty yards are needed at a time. Why do they not co-operate and purchase one jointly? Because there are never ten weavers in one village; and so the century-old process goes on. Improvidence always has to be fought. Boys will leave without learning. Or as soon as they are able to make Rs.4.8.0 a month, instead of beginning to save, they will want to eat up their profit. The Bishop, however, insists on their saving so that they can purchase a fifteen-rupee loom.

The third industry is carpentry. In this eight boys are

being taught under two instructors. It takes boys longer in carpentry than in weaving to get to a place where they can earn their own food, but in Dornakal boys are accomplishing this in a year. Nineteen per cent. of the actual cost of an article is added for profit, just as in weaving 6 per cent. is added to the actual cost in the yarn department and 6 per cent. in the weaving department. By this plan the carpentry pays its way, and the weaving has a profit of Rs.100 after paying the salary of the two instructors. So far three fully trained carpenters have gone out and stuck to the trade. Ten others only partially trained have given it up, and gone in for teaching or other work.¹

One reason why boys do not stick to the trades which they are taught is supposed to be that they really have had no choice in the matter. Being poor, their parents or the mission assign them to a certain kind of work. In a previous chapter we saw what freedom was given the half-timers in the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills to discover their bent. At Dornakal a trial was made of letting them have three months at each of the three industries as a basis for decision. But it was found that most chose that trade in which they judged there was the least discipline. Now they must choose an industry on entrance, and if they find they do not like it, they may change.

¹ The failure of pupils to follow their trades after having been industrially trained is a widespread and disappointing experience. For example, a missionary who is superintendent of the educational work of his mission states that out of eighty teachers in his training class in 1920, thirty-four had completed trade courses and held certificates for carpentry, masonry, tailoring, or fitting. All of these could make from Rs.25 to Rs.50 per month at their trades, but preferred teaching at from Rs.10 to Rs.15. The explanation given by this missionary was that they had not learned the dignity of working with their hands.

To find suitable work for the girls is not so easy. It does not seem advisable to put the girls in the weaving shed with the boys; nor do they have a lace teacher. But they are doing drawn-thread work, sewing, and field-work, besides cooking and washing. The great problem in an agricultural community is to find practical cottage industries which can be carried on in the leisure of the peasants. Experiments are needed in any given locality to determine whether the auxiliary industry shall be rope-making, basket-work, shoe-making, poultry-rearing, vegetable-growing, fruit-farming, or the like.

II

It is always difficult to work out a system of remuneration for work done by pupils in a school. They usually do not accomplish as much work per hour as a coolie would at market rates, and yet from their standpoint they may be putting into the work far more conscientious effort. Only a genius will be able to devise a scheme that will avoid on the one hand sweating the children by paying them too little, and on the other pauperizing them by paying them too much. It may be interesting to look at the Dornakal plan in some detail.

Boys are divided into four classes. Those who can drive a vehicle, plough, or use bulls in any other way are paid four annas for a day of seven hours. Such A-grade boys (in fact all over twelve years of age) must pay the mission Rs.3.8.0 per month for their board. The remaining money is credited to their account, from which they must buy their clothes. B-grade boys (ten to twelve years of age) work from 6 to 9 a.m., and from 4.15 to 5.30 p.m., i.e. four and a quarter hours, and for

this work they are reckoned to have earned one and a half annas a day. They must pay Rs.2 to the mission for food and clothing, any sum remaining over being credited to their bank account. C-grade boys (eight to ten years of age) will also work four and a fourth hours a day, for which they are credited with one anna a day. C-grade and D-grade pupils (below eight years) are not supposed to be self-supporting, and their deficits are made up by the mission. The boys are stimulated by receiving a certain amount of pocket-money if their earnings for a given grade are above a certain fixed amount. They also may be credited with earnings for overtime work at a rate fixed for each grade. If in any month a boy does not earn enough to pay for the fixed charges of his grade, his account is debited with the deficit, and he gets no pocket-money that month. At harvest-time school adjourns, and the children work all day, and besides earning more money, are given mutton every day instead of twice a week. A work register is kept, in which is recorded what each pupil has done each day, and with what wage he has been credited. All pupils over twelve are provided with a savings pass-book. No sum is allowed to be withdrawn from the bank except with the endorsement of the superintendent of the department and of the missionary in charge of the school. It is intended that the savings shall, as far as possible, be kept in reserve for starting the boy in his own village on an independent basis.

For cooking, at which not more than four girls may be employed in any one day, girls are paid two annas a day if the work is satisfactory. Fines are imposed if there is delay, carelessness, or theft. For making a boy's simple cotton coat three annas are given, providing the girl

cuts and stitches it herself. If the cutting has to be done by the mistress, only two annas are paid. Two annas are paid for petticoats and one anna for a boy's shorts. Girls who do laundry-work are paid at the rate of Rs.1.8.0 if the wash is satisfactory.

There are those who believe so strongly in the value of manual labour to the pupil that they are convinced that work should be provided even if they have not yet found a set of industries that will yield a financial profit so long as genuine work is the result. Let us turn aside to see an example of this in another Telugu station.¹ Here the boys were set the task of improving the school premises. As far as possible they were paid on the basis of the market value, and by the contract system, rather than merely for the time put in—so much for a given stretch of cactus hedge, for breaking so many cubic feet of stone, or for digging out so many cubic feet of earth. On the basis of experience as to what they could earn at actual market rates, this amount was trebled for the little ones, and doubled for the larger ones. A settlement is made once a month, and cash is paid over to the boys, which they may spend in any way they wish after their board and clothes are paid for. If a boy falls into debt because of illness, he is allowed on recovery to work extra time and thus make up his debt. If a boy persists in falling into debt through indifference, he is dismissed without hesitation. Their experience is that this plan of remuneration has made the boys aware of just what is being done for them, that they are far more grateful than under the old system where all was done for them, and that they more naturally relate themselves to a world of fact.

¹ Dornakonda, American Baptist Missionary Society.

The manager of this school, furthermore, is convinced that if he could give more time to it instead of its being a mere side issue in extensive district work, financially productive occupations suitable to his area could be devised. Those responsible for sending out teachers to grapple with such situations do not seem to have realized that the working out of detailed local solutions to the problem of the vocational education of India is a professional task of the first order.

III

Returning to the school at Dornakal, let us note the measures taken for guarding the health of the children, and the community service growing out of this experience. The railway apothecary attends to any sickness, and advises on the sanitation of the school. It is noticeable that the outlay on medicine has distinctly decreased since farming was introduced. All the drinking water is chlorinated in two sixty-gallon tanks, at the trivial cost of Rs.6 a year. Food is not allowed to stand unprotected, large cubical screens being provided to cover the vessels. Since the adoption of the last two precautions there has not been a single case of diarrhoea or dysentery. Even the children are learning to protect themselves from malaria; for after they have gone to the farm six miles distant, where every house has malaria, and come back without a case of fever, they begin to have a confidence in the prophylactic dose of quinine. An interesting demonstration occurred during the influenza epidemic, when concentrated solutions of the remedy were secured and the community was informed that they could receive help. At first only the Moham-

medans used it ; the next day some of the caste people ; the third day crowds were waiting about the door. Nine hundred cases were treated in three weeks, and only one died. The Bishop does not think it is necessary for his village teachers to have a five years' course of medicine before they can begin to help their neighbourhoods. He is encouraging them to make their schools centres for the enlightened use of quinine, chlorinated water, food covers, and castor oil. Health conditions in India constitute a call for every school to become a centre of community improvement.¹

Unless a visitor is an early riser at Dornakal, he is apt to be awakened by the singing of some Telugu lyric as the girls begin their work of rice preparation for the morning meal. He will hear them singing in the fields also. The soil and the open air seem to belong to the girls, and these singing groups fit in most naturally with the rural scene. There is no Western music at Dornakal —except a translated grace sung at mealtime.

¹ It may be interesting to note that America is not without its rural health problems also. In a study of the health records of half a million children, from both town and country, in the United States, Dr. Thomas D. Wood, of Teachers' College, New York, found the following facts concerning the rural children : 48 per cent. have defective teeth ; 28 per cent. have had tonsils ; and 23 per cent. adenoids. Eye defects run 23 per cent., and 16 per cent. are improperly fed and nourished. These facts are further corroborated by the findings of the U.S. Public Health Service, which discovered, after making a sanitary survey of fifteen rural counties in different States that 68 per cent. of the water supply in these counties was contaminated by underground drainage from barns and pig pens, and that only 32 per cent. of the farm homes were effectively screened from flies. The conclusion of this survey is that 'sanitary conditions in the rural districts generally of the United States are grossly faulty and in need of correction.' See 'Rural Sanitation,' *Bulletin No. 94*, U.S. Public Health Service.

IV

In estimating the results of the experiment at Dornakal one notes that because of the manual work during the first five years the pupils lose one year compared with those who in other schools have confined themselves to literary studies. But otherwise it has been a gain, for the alternation of hand-work and study is more interesting to the children, and the Dornakal boys are said to stand at the top of the vernacular middle school to which they go, and near the top of the high school to which later they go. In this way the Bishop aims to give an education for the boys' own sakes, no attempt being made to bind the pupils to mission service. The hope, of course, is that many will come back for such service; but the Bishop says to them frankly, 'Now I am going to treat you just like others who have not been trained in the mission. Go, however, and think over how you can in some way repay what has been done for you, for we can't do for all what has been done for you.' Three boys recently came back and said they had decided how to do it. Each agreed to give twelve annas a month out of their wages, and to increase the gift when they got more. In this way the Bishop aims to give an education for the boys' own sake, not merely for the mission's.

The effort to produce self-supporting workers sometimes fails just as success seems to have been attained. One boy, who had done well at weaving, was kept on for six months of training in conducting village prayers before sending him out. When he tasted this kind of life, he wanted to be a teacher. When he was not taken on in this capacity, he went back to field-work. As

he did not own a loom, he was not even using weaving as an auxiliary industry.

Some missionaries offer theoretical objections to the plan of carrying on mass movement work through such self-supporting workers, saying that if the wife teaches the school while the husband weaves or does field-work, she will inevitably be more respected than her husband ; or that the self-supporting man may prove to be less proficient as a farmer than his neighbours, and thus make spiritual leadership impossible. In answer it may be said that the only alternative is for many of these mass movement communities to go without guidance and instruction. The Indian Missionary Society has no wealthy West to draw upon ; the Christians amongst whom they work are extremely poor, only one in ten owning land, and the rest being mostly serfs for debt ; and the Indian village is too small and too cut up by caste to be an economical educational unit. How can these poor people pay a living wage to a teacher with only twelve to sixteen pupils, and also to a pastor to guide them spiritually ? Besides, there are many who feel that the low-grade catechist or preacher, giving his whole time to preaching, is not really satisfactory, and that the system tends to slackness and demoralization to health and spiritual life. They point with pity to some poor preacher living off the gifts of the people. Too often he has not clothes enough, is not ambitious, and does not have food enough to be vigorous. It is a mistake to encourage such a one to attempt to win the respect of the community merely by sitting about reading his Bible. Some missions expect them to pick up work on the side—petition writing, doctoring, and such like.

The Bishop's solution, as we have seen, is a man who will support himself by day and lead the community at night. Four such have already gone out. Two men were given the use of land and houses, and support themselves by farming. A third man earns his living by carpentry, and a fourth by weaving. The experiment has been going on for four years. One of these men lives in a house built by the mission at a cost of Rs.35, earns Rs.10 per month, and is saving money. He conducts brief prayers for the people before sunrise. The day school from 6 to 8 or 9 a.m. is generally cared for by his wife, who is paid according to results. The main service with instruction is in the evening about seven.

V

How great an attainment it is to get the work-tradition started in an Indian Christian community may be illustrated from another Telugu experiment in a girls' school of 300 pupils.¹ The pioneer missionary in that mission had gathered pupils by giving them food, clothes, and books, besides a fee to the parents. When Christmas presents were given them in recent years, they have been known to refuse them because they expected better. If the amount of cloth given them was diminished, again there would be complaint. In other words, the spirit of dependence had through the years become thoroughly ingrained. Could a new tradition be started?

A new superintendent, with a clear and firm grasp of the principles involved, decided that instead of giving presents she would charge fees, and since they would

¹ Girls' School, Ongole, American Baptist Missionary Society. At the time described it was under the direction of Miss Evans.

not pay money, she would require the fees to be worked out. She believed that they needed the work for health's sake. She felt certain that they were dawdling over their study period, and that under supervision they could accomplish in one and a half hours what they were then doing in four hours. A combination of good teaching and directed study would, she felt, yield the necessary hours for work. The school field was divided into plots, and allotted to the girls to plant and work. The whole was dug to a depth of twelve to fourteen inches, and good soil put in the place of the worthless soil taken out. The school sanitation system, using a suggestion from the thrifty Japanese, provided the fertilizer for this.

But would the girls fall in with this new plan? Not much. 'It is not our custom.' 'It isn't our way.' The first month they tried to resist the innovation, but absolute firmness kept them to it. The second month they tried the plan of losing the tools as they went to and from work. The third month they stoned the bungalow in which the principal lived, and all but thirty-three ran away for a time. Then they changed their tack. They were willing to work, but must have more clothes. Some even managed to have some of their clothes stolen, expecting that the school would make good the loss.

But in spite of these diversions the work went on. The principal supervised the staff, and the staff supervised the girls at their work, so that at the end of the year each girl had raised a plot of vegetables and had some grass and fruit to sell. They had been paid at ordinary coolie rates, and from their earnings paid the new school fee of four annas a month. There was an actual transfer of money to the girls, and of the fees back to the school,

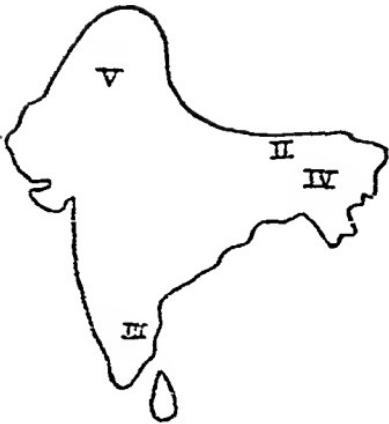
the account-keeping being correlated with the arithmetic. Before the long vacation the girls were called together and plainly told that girls who were not willing to work would not be received back. It was a trying experience for a new principal. She had been entrusted with a school of three hundred. Could she face the mission if it were emptied the first year? Was it worth the cost to combat the tendency to pauperization? Imagine her relief when 290 came back! And the victory had been won, not only for the school, but for that mission.

There are still hosts of mission schools in India where leaders are needed for a similar struggle with privileges and customs that are weakening and uneducative. Heads of schools are needed who really honour manual labour, and have had practical, common-sense experience. It means a considerable physical drain, for even if a principal cannot do the more strenuous coolie work, he or she must go out under the baking sun and make himself one with the little company who are tramping over the rough fields, tying up the grain, or throwing bundles of paddy. As soon as the leader runs out of energy, the plan is apt to lose momentum, since the whole environment is against it. But no true educator with a vision of India's need will seek to avoid the challenge of the experiment and the struggle involved in setting up a vocational middle school for his constituency.

CHAPTER IV

THE FAMILY SYSTEM

I



WHEN we consider the problem of the education of girls in India we find conditions there differentiated from those in the West by several marked characteristics. It would be the great exception for a girl in America to be sent off to a boarding school after finishing the fourth grade or standard ; but in India, because of social

and economic conditions, practically all the education of girls after a merely elementary stage is in boarding schools. Again the Indian situation is such that extreme care should be taken to make most boarding schools approximate to village conditions. For when a girl is taken out of her little, isolated, mud village and placed with one or two hundred girls in a great institution, generally under foreign management, where rules and ways are entirely new, there is great danger that she may be unfitted for the actual conditions ahead of her. She may be able to sit about and read, but can she lift a filled brass vessel at the well and bring it home poised upon her head ? She may be able to help cook for a hundred, but can she

cook for a family of four and be sure that the monthly allowance will not run out in a fortnight?

In order to overcome such dangers and to supplement class-room work by such practical training as will make good home-makers, the family system has been devised. By this the girls are divided into groups which approximate as far as possible to an average family in size, variation in age, and working conditions. The girls often come with no idea of order and cleanliness. Habits of thrift and economy must be instilled. These little families give an opportunity to teach mother-craft under practical conditions, often with real babies to care for. They buy their vegetables, plan their meals, keep their accounts, and mend their clothes. They must be taught to cook simple meals, to make sweets, the possibilities of wild roots and herbs during times of scarcity, and the use of boiled water and milk. Each girl needs help in developing certain habits—personal cleanliness even while working, tidiness of nails and hair, care in washing her clothes, keeping the home sweet and clean, and attention to the sanitation of the surroundings. Often each family can be given a garden, and taught garden songs to sing as they work. Those who have tried the plan testify without exception that through it discipline is much easier, and that the burden of supervision is lightened greatly both for superintendent and teachers. Some definite examples will explain the working of the plan.

II

Up amongst the Himalayas, in a sublimely beautiful place, is the Girls' School of Kalimpong.¹ Two Scotch

¹ Miss E. Smith, manager, Church of Scotland Mission.

women superintend this educational beehive. There is a teacher-training department with a two years' course; a middle-English day school with 200 girls reading through standard vi; and provision for the instruction of 123 women and girls in an associated industrial school. These industrial women go to the day school for an hour and a half each day, and while progress in reading and writing used to be slow, they have found that under skilled teachers they can go as fast as some who study all day. For the rest of the time they work at lace and embroidery, making on an average Rs.10 per month, while the best workers earn up to Rs.25. They work on the finest types of linen laces, introduced in 1905 by a woman specially trained. Just as these industrialists come into the day school for an hour and a half's literary work, so all the day pupils go into the industrial school for an hour and a half each day, and receive pay for what they are able to accomplish.

Particular interest for us centres about the school hostel, which provides for sixty-two girls. About a small quadrangle are a dozen small rooms, each of which is called a 'home.' The girls are divided into 'families' of four or five each, with a senior girl as house-mother. They whitewash their own rooms, and work out their own ideas of decoration, pictures, and flowers. Some go out and dig up red earth for ornamentation. House gardens are possible, but enough supervision has not been available to make them a success.

Each girl must contribute one rupee to the family exchequer. In some few cases the parents pay the fee. In others girls give it out of their scholarship money of Rs.5 a month, or they earn it at the industrial period or by additional needlework done before school and after the

study hour. A glance at the wage-book showed that they were earning various amounts, from Rs.0.8.0 to Rs.2.10.0 per month. One girl who had learned needlework in the daily industrial period was earning Rs.3.4.0 per month, and at the same time was leading her class in standard iv.

The girls take entire charge of the cleaning, and each family cooks for itself. Social conditions in Kalimpong make it possible for the house-mothers to go with a teacher to the bazaar to do their own marketing, and within limits they are allowed to select what they wish. Each house-mother is required to keep a careful account of her expenditure, which is examined once a week by the teacher in charge. The little cloth money-bag belonging to each house is ticketed, and hangs on its own particular nail in the superintendent's drawer. Thus the money is kept in one place for safety, but each mother opens and closes her own bag. Each house-mother is responsible for managing in such a way that there will be food for the complete week, and she must govern her purchases accordingly. If she has run out by Friday night, her family must go hungry, so that a very real training is given in the selection, purchase, and preparation of food in amounts used by an ordinary family.

III

A variation on the Kalimpong plan is found in the girls' school established about eighteen years ago at Salem,¹ in the Madras Presidency. This is a lower secondary school (grades or standards i to viii) for some fifty girls. A few of these girls will become teachers and nurses,

¹ Miss Crouch (successor to Miss Lodge) in charge, London Missionary Society.

but most of them will become wives of farm labourers. The school, therefore, has acquired thirteen acres of land, which the girls cultivate with the help of a man and three small boys, who do the ploughing, sowing, and manuring. Occasionally extra coolie labour is required. They weed, hoe, thin out, winnow, and if at any given time there is no work on the crops, they gather grass for the cattle. They carry water from 6 to 6.30 in the morning, and do field-work from 6.30 to 8.45 a.m., and from 4 to 6 p.m. No attempt at Salem has been made to apply a system of individual payment.

The girls go singing and shouting to their work, and get exceedingly interested in the harvests. They guess how many measures the crop will yield, and fill their letters with the story of it all. The old girls will write back and ask, 'How much grain did you get?' or 'Did you plant so-and-so?' They always speak about 'our fields' when proudly showing them to parents or visitors. Not seldom will a parent become so interested himself that upon his return home he will make and send back a plough for the school.

This plan of field-work was begun originally in order to keep the girls close to village conditions, and the girls themselves recognize that it pays. Instead of being knocked about by their husbands, they win respect because they know more than other girls. Even for those who go on to take training as nurses and teachers there is a robustness resulting from field-work which would draw forth the hearty approval of those who are exercised over the high percentage of break-downs amongst Indian girls receiving advanced education. Besides the benefit of regular work in the open, they get fresh vegetables, and are consequently free from complaints

common to many other schools. Field-work seems to do away with a lot of gossip. Moreover, when the girls go home, village women will listen with admiration to what they say when they see the girls take the sickles out of the labourers' hands and demonstrate their ability to do the same work. When the season rush is on and coolie women are brought in to help, these girls can compete with them in the fields, and for a limited time work faster and better. But the superintendent has to look out for weak children, and must see that the girls do not work too long or carry too much.

The fifty girls are divided into ten families, each made up of girls of different ages, from four and five up to fifteen and sixteen. The 'mother' is supposed to train her little group, bathe them, and see that they are tidy and clean. Differing from the Kalimpong system, however, the families do not have their separate 'houses' and cooking arrangements. But the general work is done by families. They have a daily change in duties in a ten-day cycle: carrying water, sweeping, cooking, attending to the dining-room and dishes, care of the sleeping-mats, pounding rice, preparation of grain, and for three days, grinding.

Sometimes the field-work is organized by families. The matron will measure off a field with a long stick and assign the parts to families. Then there is friendly rivalry to see which can reap the cleanest, leaving fewest stocks, and dropping least on the way back. Or they will see which can finish their furrow first. At harvest-time marks or cash prizes are given to the family that does the cleanest winnowing or sifting.

Since this does not give them training in buying and cooking for a small group, a separate small house has

been provided called the 'virtuous woman's house' (Prov. xxxi). Each family longs for its turn to come to spend a week twice a year in this mud structure which to them is surrounded with all the glamour of real life. These periods are too brief to establish habits, but are better than nothing. Each group is given so much money for the week. Two elder girls from the family go with an old woman to the bazaar and buy what they wish. They must allow two cents for house rent (the ordinary village rate); three cents go for firewood; and grain, curry stuff, and oil for the lamp have to be laid in. Unless the group is especially young, they are allowed to have their evening prayers alone. Experience shows that they are so intent on this housekeeping that they do not fall into mischief. The assistant matron usually sleeps with them. During the day calls by teachers and other girls are made. There is a great fuss, of course, when the superintendent knocks and says, 'May I come in?' The girls—especially orphan girls—love this week in the cottage.

IV

Away up in Assam, at Golaghat, is a girls' middle-English school,¹ with eighty-five pupils, of whom forty are boarders. The recently finished buildings, consisting of a row of four houses, have been made for the family system. (See Plate vi.) The floors consist of raised plinths of brick in order to secure some protection against white ants. On these are erected rooms of bamboo, thatch,

¹ Girls' Middle-English School, Golaghat, Assam, under the American Baptist Missionary Society, and with Miss E. Elizabeth Vickland in charge.

and mud plaster—the materials of the jungle round about. They are whitewashed and clean, and the projecting eaves make a veranda in front, upheld by brick pillars. They might fittingly serve as a model for an improved village house for the future home-makers of that region.

The Golaghat family system differs from the two already described in that the families are larger, consisting of ten girls each, and therefore besides a house 'mother' there is a house 'auntie' as well. These two leaders divide the tasks of the home, supervise the work, and are responsible for the good behaviour of all the members. A matron keeps her eye on all the cottages, teaching, where needed, the cooking, washing, and other duties of a home. Besides cooking their own food and plastering their houses each week after the custom of the country, they weave and make their own clothes, and in times of illness help with the nursing. All the rice eaten is hulled by the girls, and they do all their own washing. They also have their play-time, and are instructed in partsinging and in their own folk-songs. Difficulties that arise are settled by their own *mels* or councils. Families invite each other to meals on special occasions, and often co-operate with one another as opportunity arises. Family gardens have been tried only one year, and they say these were spoiled by goats getting in during a time of sickness in the school when supervision was relaxed.

You will be interested in following the events of the day with little Kareng—a twelve-year-old pupil in the school. Kareng comes from a jungle home in the Mikir hills, where her father is both the headman and preacher.¹ She is the chosen house-mother of her group of ten girls, and

¹ The detailed description that follows has been adapted from material provided by Miss Vickland.

together with the assistant auntie must see that all the family affairs run smoothly. She must be up in the morning promptly at five—earlier if there are to be *chapatis* instead of biscuits with morning tea, for she must rouse all the other girls so that they will have time to get everything done and get to school promptly. Rice for the noon meal must be prepared, the house must be swept, the lanterns cleaned and filled, and garden-work done. There is water to be carried, and wood, and one girl has to take her turn feeding and bathing the year-and-a-half-old baby girl that belongs to the family.

Before the work begins each girl is encouraged to offer a brief prayer beside her bamboo bed. The mother must see that not one forgets. Then the bedding is neatly folded at the head of the bed. In order to preserve her *ari* from tears and unsightly spots while working; she puts on her oldest *kurtah* (jacket), and a *meklah* (a straight, ingored skirt), which she fastens by knotting at the waist. Soon everything is going at a lively pace. Those who are not cooking and big enough to carry a potful of water on their hips go with the matron to the tank in the neighbouring compound. Kareng is amongst the former, and so starts out merrily through the fog, carrying her brick-red pot on her hip, or balancing it on her head. They sing as they go, quite unconscious of the picture they make. The little girls go out after wood.

When Kareng returns she must measure the rice for the ten o'clock meal, and help the cooks decide what kind of a curry they had best prepare. At seven the cooks sound the gong, and all scurry to the cook-house, sitting down on their heels while the cooks serve them a cupful of steaming hot tea and a hard biscuit to eat with it. Soon the girls are running out to the dish-washing place

to rinse out their enamel plates and cups. They then seat themselves on the veranda of their cottage on mats, and begin singing. This morning prayer service and Bible lesson under a teacher's guidance last half-an-hour.

At eight the study hour begins. If it is Thursday, Kareng, being the house-mother, has to leave the study class when the vender brings his vegetables, in order to buy for her family. The principal gives her a rupee for the week, all in the smallest copper coins. The matron helps her buy, for it is hard to decide just what will last until the next buying-time. The miniature bazaar is spread out on the ground just outside the bungalow veranda. She buys eight annas' worth, which is just half her allowance. The other eight annas must be saved for Monday's buying. Then she makes out her account in the book given her for the purpose and pays the man. The principal will not let the matron help a mother to figure out her bill, for she believes they should learn to do it themselves. The auntie, of course, helps. After this she sorts and puts away the vegetables, and stores the remaining pice (small coins), having only a little time left for study.

At nine a gong is sounded from the bungalow as a signal that study class is over. Books are put aside, each girl gathers up the *sari* and jacket she wore the day before, and they all go to the little well near by and pound these garments snowy white on smooth flat boards. Some of them have to go to the principal for soap, which is generously given, for she wants them to have clean clothes and bodies. The washing done, the garments are spread out on the grass to dry, and taking their pots of water, they go into the temporary bath-house, made of bamboo and thatch, and bathe by the pouring process.

made the centre for a girls' school that they refused to give a grant until the superintendent should prove that she could fill her buildings. This was quickly done, and besides the initial grant of over \$3,000, the inspectors have repeatedly shown their appreciation of the excellent work done by teachers and pupils. An entrance fee varying from Rs.1.8 to Rs.5, according to the class, railway fares, plates and glasses, stationery, and soap are paid for by the parents; otherwise board, clothing, bedding, books, and tuition are provided free.

Especially noteworthy at the Sangla Hill school are the buildings designed from the beginning for the family system. Instead of having one great dormitory, the girls are housed in what are called 'cottages,' built around a great open quadrangle. There are six of these cottages, and each is intended for about twenty or twenty-five girls. Each cottage consists of a sleeping-room, cook-house, and store-room, with a porch opening on to a courtyard, made quite private by high walls. Considering the cold of a Punjab winter, remarkable provision has been made for ventilation, for the sleeping-room looks out through permanently open archways on to the courtyard, i.e. there is no wall on one side of the room. (See Plate vi.) Each cottage has its own bathing and sanitary facilities.

In the courtyard of each cottage the girls have built up a low mud dais on which they eat their food, and they also take pride in showing the bake-ovens that they have themselves made from mud and bricks that they have provided. Part of their regular work is plastering this raised platform and their kitchen. Each girl has a part in the cooking, cleaning, and care of the younger girls. Food supplies are given to all the cottages alike, but the

At seven Kareng taps her gong, and assembles her family for evening prayers. The girl who leads uses the Christian Endeavour topic for the day. There is song and prayer and the reading of the Bible lesson. Then supper is ready, and after a blessing again they have rice and curry to eat. Everything is done up by the time the seven-thirty bell for study sounds, and the home-lessons are worked out for the next day. Every evening after study class all the house-mothers, aunts, and the matron have private prayers with the superintendent. The day closes with the ten o'clock gong, and every tired girl says her prayers and is soon fast asleep. If one were criticizing this schedule, one would have to ask for more sleep for growing girls.

On Saturday evenings the girls all go to the bungalow for a sing around the principal's piano. Later the principal talks about the life of Chundra Lela, or Pandita Ramabai, or something else that is helpful. On Sundays there are two services at the church, and in the evening, just before sunset, the girls go out for a walk. Sometimes they are taken to little villages and there sing to the people.

V

In large boarding schools it has not always been practicable to arrange for small groups containing only four or five girls. When the number in a group approaches twenty, the family system passes into the 'cottage system.' A good example of this system is found in the Girls' Boarding School at Sangla Hill, in the Punjab.¹

So little did Government believe that this could be

¹ Miss F. J. Jameson, manager, United Presbyterian Church of North America.

girls who do the cooking plan the separate meals. Each family has its own place for storing its food, for once in a while there is a pariah dog about, and there is always the ubiquitous and impudent crow—these do not learn the ten commandments like their betters. A teacher is in charge of each family and oversees the house-work. Industries are not highly organized in this school. The wood on the compound is gathered by the girls. They themselves begged that cotton should be planted, promising to pick it when it was ready, and this was done. Sewing is taught in the school, and some of the older girls who need pocket-money are given a chance to earn money by plain sewing. Throughout, in dress, atmosphere, and work, an attempt is made to keep the girls in sympathy with the village life to which they are to go.¹

¹ An interesting account of an American experiment in the cottage system is to be found in *How Two Hundred Children Live and Learn*, Rudolph Rex Reeder (Charities Pub. Com., \$1.25, 1910).

CHAPTER V

A COMMONWEALTH OF GIRLS¹

I



THIRTY-SIX miles south of Delhi—that wonderful centre of old Mogul splendour, and Britain's choice for the new modern capital rising like a white dream amid the ruins and marble triumphs of many an ancient monarchy—is the industrial settlement of Salamatpur. One must leave the railway station at Palwal and

go a sandy mile farther on to reach this institution. For fifteen years there was a distinct air of openness about the compound, a pleasing sense of liberty from the restraint some schools exercise. Except for a wall shielding it from the road on one side, there were no barriers or gates. ‘I thought I should be coming to another prison,’ said a girl who had been expelled from five schools, ‘but I came and found it an open garden.’

¹ The Industrial Settlement, Baptist Zenana Mission, Palwal, South Punjab. The material of this chapter has been taken from the annual reports of Salamatpur since 1910, and from private letters kindly lent by the principal, Miss M. Young.

However, five years ago, after a mad jackal had made its midnight visit, attacking four people, killing their pet crane, biting the dogs, and giving the women and girls two hours of terror as it rushed in and out amongst them, it was seen that some protection must be provided. They rejoiced in securing an iron fence instead of a wall, thus attaining safety while preserving an appearance, at least, of openness and freedom.

The buildings have not been allowed to depart very much from those of ordinary village life. The houses are all mud-plastered, if not actually made of mud. The majority of them possess doorways but no doors, which helps in the struggle for a healthy community. On one side is a long row of children's houses; on the other, separated from the rest by a ditch and a hedge, is the 'House of Date Palms'—a row of rooms for a heterogeneous collection of women. The principal's house looks down the compound between these two groups of buildings, past the giant-stride, the swing, and see-saw. Life is lived out of doors, and all around are trees and vegetables, buds and flowers. The only touch of the West is the blast of the 'screw-house'—a modern cotton-pressing establishment near by.

People from widely different regions send their girls to Salamatpur, often their hardest cases, and an untidy, unthrifty, undomesticated set they often are when they enter. A girl who is wild and mischievous may be sent in from Agra. From Quetta may come a girl with an uncontrolled temper. A flighty little widow and her small boy may come in from the Central Provinces. Many of them have been the flotsam of two famines, so weakened by privations as to be unfit for a regular school routine.

As will be seen, Salamatpur has some very definite ideals and aims for its girls. This is undoubtedly one secret of the results which draw many visitors to it every year. Methods must always be more or less experimental; but the superintendent has had no doubt as to the principles which underlie her work.

II

Nothing very complicated is attempted on the literary side—reading, writing, arithmetic up to fractions, a little geography, and composition. Outside regular school hours they have taken up conversational English with the little ones, so that, almost as fun, they have learned simple everyday phrases, some songs and recitations. Those who show much mental ability are passed on to a girls' school in Delhi.

The following account of how the Montessori system was introduced into the school will reveal something of the qualities of resourcefulness needed by the successful teacher who attempts modern methods in places far away from centres of educational inspiration. A trial effort was made on Montessori lines with home-made apparatus. The results being satisfactory, a proper set was ordered out from England. But a suitable environment for the school could not be unpacked from any box; that was a harder problem. The experimental work had been done in an open shed in the middle of the compound. It was abundantly ventilated, but noisy, public, windy, and had the associations of disorder and idleness. The garden might have been used, but there was hardly enough shade. Finally they settled on a disused courtyard at the side of the school, containing a

thatched shelter, a bamboo, and a palm-tree, and capable of being more or less shut off. How this was prepared is told in a letter by the principal :—

' We had it well swept, and then the whole place mud-plastered by some of the girls. There was a little broken wall near the class-room on which I had often seen children climbing, and this with the knowledge I had gained on the compound of the fascination of steps to these children, made us decide to have three nice steps built, up and down which they might climb, and on which they might sit, and from which they might jump. We had four nice pictures representing the story of the three bears, which we hung in gradations of height on the wall next the steps. An opportune present of an old cupboard and a set of shelves, with a little manipulation, gave us a really nice locker with fifteen compartments, each to be named and reserved for a child, and filled with attractive little bowls for their milk, and a small piece of soap in a tin dish. Plants, bought to decorate a house veranda were requisitioned for the beautifying of our courtyard.

' We wanted little low tables frightfully. We manufactured one out of a box, but it took us long, and we were in a hurry, so a small bedroom table with an upper and a lower shelf fell victim to two very blunt saws. After that we decided to leave the rest to a carpenter. We had no blackboard, but we found a large piece of American cloth bought to protect luggage from the rains on a holiday trip. The very thing! We had a piece of wall cemented so as to get a smooth surface on which to nail our blackboard. Rush mats were ordered from Bengal at an anna each for the children to sit on. Five shallow earthenware pans were commandeered for hand-basins, and since more were not forthcoming immediately in the bazaar, old soup plates were used. Fourteen small people sit round a little channel under the bamboo learning to wash their hands and faces with proper care.

SM. ' But every time the class is over, basins, vases, tables, mats etc., have to be picked up and carried indoors because our community of vandals has no respect for common property. So we fastened up the door into the schoolroom; and, since everyone else was busy, I with one or two girls began to build a wal-

and put up a door to shut up the way into the courtyard from the passage. In the open space outside the class-room we are going to make two or three flower borders. In short, the environment inside our children's home is going to be suggestive of all that is peaceful, beautiful, orderly ; and, if we do not get something of peace and beauty into the children's soul, it shall not be for want of trying.'

III

Perhaps the strongest tradition of Salamatpur is that of self-support. So firmly rooted is this tradition that it is comparatively easy to get a new girl into the spirit of financial independence. If she is quick with her fingers and fond of nice things, experience shows that she can quickly earn enough, not only to pay for food and clothes, but also to buy many extra luxuries. The burden of self-support is not put on girls under twelve. What they earn is credited as pocket-money, and may be spent on sweets, molasses, ribbons, combs, cups, plates, and the like. Girls of twelve and thirteen years of age are expected to pay for everything except food. Their earnings are entered to their credit as money to be spent on necessaries first. Girls over thirteen are expected to be entirely self-supporting, and the twelve annas advanced each week to their kitchens are deducted from the week's earning. If they have not earned enough, the deficiency is entered as a debit.

Needlework is the means by which most of the girls pay their way. Speaking of its influence, the late principal wrote :—

' It is astonishing what a humanizing effect it has on some of the very raw material that comes to us. The art of using the needle is perhaps the least part of what they learn through it. A girl who brings dirty work has something cut off her wages, and

so she learns the necessity of clean hands—a step towards learning the necessity of general cleanliness. A girl who loses her work has to pay up for the loss, and so she learns to put away her possessions carefully—a step towards learning general tidiness and carefulness. The stupid ones learn that though they may never excel with their brains, they yet may be able to excel with their fingers.

' It is astonishing how clearly a girl reveals her character in her needlework. The undependable girl reveals her untrustworthiness in the way in which she scamps her work, and the multiplicity of dodges by which she tries to pass off bad work. The dishonest girl is soon found out cheating in some small matter of cotton or silk. The girl who has the power of initiative is found in that she is one who cheerfully tackles a new pattern, or a new type of work, and carries it through to the end.

' But the value of the needlework as training depends to a very large extent on its being paid work. Very few of these girls would do the needlework for its own sake, at first; but the hope of possessing money of their own spurs them on, and helps them to accomplish marvels. Without the money, we should have enormous difficulty in getting the needlework done; without the needlework, we could not put the money into the girls' hands, and they would lose the very valuable training which the handling of money gives. It is a tremendous gain to a girl when she goes out into the world to have learned the value of money. A girl learns self-respect and independence when she is able to earn her own living. Fine feathers do not make fine birds, but fine clothes, which you have bought with your own hard-earned money, have a very elevating moral influence at a certain stage of the soul's development. Also the very opportunities of extravagance teach them self-control; the very opportunity of stealing teaches them honesty. Having money of their own they learn to give and they learn to save as well as to spend.'

A second industry is field-work. This is considered more suitable than needlework for some of the rough and unhealthy girls. Many of the girls come from the day labourer class, and will marry into the same class. A ma-

who works in the fields for a daily wage wants a girl who can do the same when required—one who can grind grain, milk the goat, prepare food for the buffalo, dig grass, or do a day's weeding. Besides the fields, the school has orchards of pomegranates, peaches, mangoes, plums, and other fruit. Aside from the utilitarian motive of getting fruit and green vegetables for her large family, the principal has been ambitious for her girls to know about flowers and trees and crops. She wanted the settlement to have a name for greenness, fertility, and beauty.

Directly after their morning prayers the children go to their different tasks. The wage-earners support themselves as gardeners, water-carriers, poultry-tenders, or nurses to the babies; others work on the fields surrounding the settlement, or take their turn at cooking or grinding till the bell for the sewing class summons them all together.

There are three baneful and rather common tendencies that remunerative work helps to combat. One is a general slackness in life and work. A small child undertakes to weed and water a particular plot of garden. The novelty and pleasure of it last only a week or two—then comes the temptation to slackness. Since the work of matron, wage-earner, nurse, or teacher is paid for, it is possible to arrange a monetary penalty, thus showing them that slackness does not pay. Afterwards they sometimes learn that it is both disgraceful and dishonest.

A second tendency is one all too common in India—a contempt for manual labour. Every one in Salamatpur draws her own water, takes her turn at sweeping and cooking, mud-plasters her own house, and most of them are ready to help with any special job, such as watering,

mending mud roofs, lifting sacks of corn, etc. When some years ago the hole about the masonry of the new well had to be filled up, instead of getting in outside labour, volunteers were called for. From 9 p.m. to 11 p.m. one evening thirty girls, including some of the best needle-workers and teachers, shovelled and carried earth until they had completed the job.

Still more obviously, industrial work enables one to combat the tendency to dependence. Take the example of Muniram, who came to the settlement when she was a baby. She often had to go shabby when she would have liked to go fine, because she was too lazy to earn. She had to stay at home when other girls went for some outing, because she had no money put by in the bank. By painful discipline, and by the unconscious force of the school tradition, through many failures and struggles, she learned to be self-supporting. Salamatpur makes a distinction between the spirit of independence and mere self-support. To teach the latter is comparatively easy. But girls sometimes come who have been brought up all their lives to believe that it is the happy privilege of the mission to support them, and that it is their clear right to receive from the mission all they want. Such girls can be taught self-support; but to make them feel the disgrace of living on charity and to inculcate a genuine spirit of self reliance is a task that should be in mind from the beginning.

IV

In 1917 the 'family system,' somewhat as described in the last chapter, was introduced. The school was divided into eight groups, each consisting of a senior girl

as mother, chosen by the girls, but appointed by the principal, and ten or eleven other girls of different ages. Each family was provided with a set of rooms, cooking utensils; and all the necessities for family life. All money was paid to the mother, who, in behalf of, or in conjunction with the family, bought stores for the week and managed the housekeeping generally. Accounts were made up at the end of the week, and any balance was held by the mother in behalf of the family for future expenditure in any way approved by the family.

Saturday is one of the busiest days of the week. It opens as usual with prayers, attendance at the dispensary, and the giving out of needlework. At 9.30 all folks of responsible age and habits repair to the schoolroom for the weekly payments, which are given in exact proportion to the work they have done. The senior girl brings out the duplicate account-book in which are written down all the family bills. The eight mothers come up by turn, each with her week's account, which is checked and entered.

At 2.30 the business of the family day begins. The big bell is rung, and the mothers and a large proportion of their families assemble round the store-room door. The senior girl sits as accountant. Naomi, a one-armed woman who has charge of all the stores, weighs out and sells the various goods. First each household buys a week's stock of flour. It is emptied into a cloth, and two or three girls are set down to sift it. Lentils, rice, spices, oil, and such sundries as matches and paraffin, have to be bought. The girls all seem immensely happy and pleased whenever one happens to go down that way while the buying is going on, and do not seem to mind at all that it is a process which goes on for the best part of three

hours. With this, however, shopping for the week is not quite over. Fuel has to be bought every day or two, vegetables are bought every day, twice a week the butcher comes with meat, and sometimes the family decides to have some special kind of food which requires ghee (clarified butter) or molasses, both of which can be bought on Tuesday and Friday when the ordinary shop is opened. These also have to be written down in the duplicate account-book, as anything that has not been so entered is not accepted as family expenditure. The senior girl and the store-room monitress come to the principal directly the buying and selling is finished, and present their accounts and their money.

The cooking is done far more carefully than it used to be, and since it is to everybody's interest to prevent waste, one has no trouble on that score. The stoves are mud-plastered every other day together with the space in front where they make the bread. Cooking for the whole school was once an unpleasant duty, often performed unwillingly and with squabbles and tears, but not in these days. Most families have a small balance at the end of the week, which is allowed to accumulate in the hope that perhaps the family will presently like to purchase a family goat or a family hen.

It must not be supposed that a mere system can wholly transform girls. While it does draw out the best that is in them and gives opportunity for suitable training, there are many difficulties and pitfalls. 'Family feeling' springs up. 'Our mother' and 'our family' become a constant boast and source of pride. Salamatpur makes a distinction between 'family affection' and 'family pride,' the one making for all things lovely and of good report, the other for jealousy and strife, senseless feuds, and a

blind partisanship. To begin with, they found that the family feeling was largely pride. Much was hoped from a weekly committee meeting of the mothers suggested by themselves. But in the initial stages family feuds came in, and made the meetings almost valueless, and they languished and lapsed.

Then there were sometimes a certain number of incorrigibly lazy girls. Up till 1917 girls who did not earn their full twelve annas each week had the lack, whatever it was, made up as a loan by Salamatpur up to the amount of ten annas, and for only ten annas the family did not feel obliged to provide meat or rice. But the family, being soft-hearted, usually did more than it guaranteed, and a few girls were quite willing to dawdle through four or five annas' worth of work a week, and let Salamatpur advance the remaining necessary annas, knowing that whatever happened the food was assured. But Salamatpur found itself hard pressed financially, and in any case had no intention of taking legitimate burdens off lazy shoulders. So it was settled that no money was to be paid over to the mother for big girls beyond what they themselves had earned, and that it rested with those who had provided the weekly household income to say whether they would keep in the lazy member or turn her out. The decisions varied, but after a couple of months it was found that there were one or two people so incorrigibly lazy that no family would take them, and they themselves lived a precarious hand to mouth existence.

Another difficulty is the securing of the right type of mothers. One way would have been to secure one or two Indian Christian women of more advanced character, education, and spirit to help set a better example. At

the beginning, however, when efforts for this were being made, they were unable to get such help. So the principal and assistant principal left their bungalow, and themselves became the heads of families. Writing of this experience the principal says :—

' I don't find it in the least easy to live up to our own standard of mothering. I feel as though I should not enter on my task with quite such a light heart now that I know something about it. But I know that the fact that I consider certain things as a necessary part of mothering has made a difference in other families. The family next door seems to me to be a good deal more looked after than it used to be. I see much more hair-dressing going on in the morning. Contrary to their usual custom, they now sit down all together to their food, and it seems to me that the mother is more energetic in looking after her family generally. A good many children, who used to get bathed twice a week, are now bathed every day. The standard of mending of clothes is still very, very low, but I think it is distinctly higher this year than it was last.

' We have just started gardening. As soon as my family started making its garden the other families started too, but none of the mothers except one who has always had a garden was in the least interested. I am hoping ours will be a success, which I think will insure better attempts later on. It's a funny garden when you come to catalogue it. A patch about nine feet square has in it six tomato plants a few inches high, four onions sprouting finely, a red pepper plant looking very weedy, a "row" of eight peas, another "row" of four dwarf beans, a little patch of mustard and cress, and tiny patches of radish, cauliflower, and turnip seed, and a little patch of shallot and a spice we call *dhaniya*. We spend a good deal of our time driving off the fowls which will jump our thorn hedge, protecting the seeds from the night cold by a roof of branches, and opening them up for the lovely winter sun, in searching for signs of sprouting seeds, and doing very careful watering.

' I find a great deal of my day goes in chatting and in all sorts of odd jobs which don't seem to count at all, and yet I am sure that this somewhat leisurely and commonplace kind of existence

the beginning, however, when efforts for this were being made, they were unable to get such help. So the principal and assistant principal left their bungalow, and themselves became the heads of families. Writing of this experience the principal says :—

' I don't find it in the least easy to live up to our own standard of mothering. I feel as though I should not enter on my task with quite such a light heart now that I know something about it. But I know that the fact that I consider certain things as a necessary part of mothering has made a difference in other families. The family next door seems to me to be a good deal more looked after than it used to be. I see much more hair-dressing going on in the morning. Contrary to their usual custom, they now sit down all together to their food, and it seems to me that the mother is more energetic in looking after her family generally. A good many children, who used to get bathed twice a week, are now bathed every day. The standard of mending of clothes is still very, very low, but I think it is distinctly higher this year than it was last.

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' I find a great deal of my day goes in chatting and in all sorts of odd jobs which don't seem to count at all, and yet I am sure that this somewhat leisurely and commonplace kind of existence

holds more potentialities of real living than anything else that has fallen to my lot yet.

' As far as possible the compound is really their home, and not their school. One girl's fancy is for a doorstep to her house, and she makes one of some odd bricks and mud. Another girl wants a thatch in front of her door, so she asks permission to cut down some tall grass called *narsal*, and makes her thatch. One girl likes to have a garden in front of her house; another girl thinks it is too much trouble. One decorates her wall with old Christmas cards—another decorates it with coloured mud. Girls who are self-supporting do their needlework when and where they like out of school hours, and an effort is made to make them feel that they are really free to enjoy themselves in their own way.

' It takes more time to superintend this very free and easy life. It would be much easier always to gather them into classes and to have everything arranged in cut-and-dried clockwork fashion. But we feel it worth the extra time and trouble involved.'

In the Salamatpur community animal friends are included. Since the beginning of things in the settlement, successive little girls have brought up successive families of sparrows in grass-lined cardboard boxes. Year by year grey doves have been adopted by the girls. The common green parrot, with sagacious cock of the head and observant eye, has seldom been wanting. Owls, cranes, and peafowl have at one time or another added their quota to the general gaiety of life. Six years ago an aviary was built about a tall silk-cotton tree. The pets form a very real factor in the Salamatpur community life.

V

Salamatpur never seems to have hesitated to entrust girls with responsibility. Some ten years ago an emergency arose through the loss of their trusted matron,

which led them to put more responsibility on the senior girls than they had ever had before. One girl was made responsible for the stores and cooking; another girl superintended the grinding, saw that the girls were in their classes at the proper times, and looked after the tidiness of the compound. These girls were not, of course, called matrons, but 'big elder sisters.' Naturally, it is impossible for a young girl to be responsible in quite the same way as an elder woman would be, but the help received from the girls was very efficient of its kind. Such methods entail more careful superintendence, but any one who is eager for the development of girls can rejoice when the additional and natural contact is made inevitable.

In 1916 and 1917 definite measures were taken for the development of the capacity for self-government. The introduction of the family system, just described, was one of the main steps in this direction. The principal formulated certain principles concerning God's dealings with men, and courageously applied these to the discipline of her school. For several years after the introduction of the self-government plan, a parliament of wage-earners met on Thursday afternoons. A great many wage-earners were quite content to have other people make their laws for them, and did not take the trouble to come to the meetings. Let us look upon a typical meeting in the early years. At the appointed time no one is present, but some twenty stroll in so that business can be begun ten minutes late. An additional eight are across a ditch in the whooping-cough camp. The secretary does not have the minutes written out. In other words, they are beginning to learn. Then followed the business of the day. The first piece of legislation was over the very troublesome question of

'dirty heads.' There had been a good deal of slackness in this matter, and so public opinion quite glibly ruled that any one who after a reasonable period was found offending should have her hair cut off short. When it came to the point and the ruling was put into effect, Salamatpur indulged itself in a mild revolution, and seemed astonished that its own ruling should be a thing of weight. The next meeting dealt with a permanent measure of combating slackness in regard to heads, and decided on a weekly inspection and segregation. They wished to appoint the principal as inspector, but she declined. Someone proposed that each mother should inspect her own family ; but it was outvoted on the ground that the mother could not be trusted to act impartially. They next proposed that each mother should inspect another mother's household, but fell back with relief on the proposal that it should be a class inspection by teachers. They also voted a collection to pay up the damage of two broken windows and a torn picture, the result of their revolution.

Any member of the community is allowed to bring up matters for legislation. At this same meeting a teacher brought up a proposal for the establishment of a post office in Salamatpur, at which all letters would be posted and delivered, and envelopes might be bought. The proposal was taken up enthusiastically, and one of the girls was appointed by ballot out of a nomination of four. It was passed as a rule that no one but the postwoman was on any pretext to be allowed to take the letters from the postman's hand. Contrary to expectation no question was raised as to salary, so to begin with Salamatpur's postwoman was an honorary office.

Another item of legislation was a complaint from a girl

who carried water to the whooping-cough camp for a weekly wage, that they used the water extravagantly, pouring it away on their gardens, and that she had in consequence to give them a very great deal of water. It was decided that the vessels were to be filled three times a day, for which an adequate wage was to be paid, and that they might do anything they wished with the water as far as the carriers were concerned. As a last item the principal raised the question as to what arrangement should be made for the sweeping of the open shed used as an assembly-hall and a schoolroom in the hot weather, but at the time vacated in favour of the sunny open. The school monitress had been sweeping it, but after the change she was sweeping the open space instead. In this case one of the mothers at once proposed that the different households should take it in turn, each a day a week. This was at once seconded, and unanimously carried.

Some hard problems of discipline are brought before the girls. One girl was incorrigibly lazy, thieving, and careless in her needlework. Finally all further needlework was refused to her, and as there was no other suitable job available, the only thing left for her was to do field-work. But she was already eight annas in debt to her family, and had only earned one and a quarter annas during the week, so where and how was she to get food ? A week before, her father had sent her Rs.5, but, without giving any of this to her little mother, she had spent it all on clothes. She had stolen sugar and *ghee* from the family shed, and her theft six months before of a new chemise, now appearing with her name on it and quite worn out, had just been discovered. Her family had wished to turn her out the week before ; but she would

not go. The meeting before which this case came demanded her presence, but it was some time before they got it. She was asked what she intended to do. She said that she would not do field-work—neither her father nor mother had ever done it, and why should she? Public opinion seemed to have gathered strength, and the girls said some strong things. She appeared quite shameless, so it was suggested that she should be turned out of that family, and if she would not do work that was offered her, that she be left to go hungry till she came to a more reasonable frame of mind.

In an educational venture of this sort no one plan or method is likely to be permanently successful. One must be ready to devise new expressions of the underlying principles, or to let these principles themselves lead in an evolution. And so it was that after three years they dropped the parliament. The girls had at last lost their interest in it. Rules were passed by it, ignored by the community, and unless the matter was brought up by the principal, no one cared. They were informed, therefore, that no more meetings would be called. After the long vacation it was suggested that since they had no form of government, they had better consider what they would do. The matter was pressed several times, but no one took the matter up. The discipline was in pretty good order, or else they would not have been able to go on without any definite form of government. However, special meetings were called from time to time by the girls to settle some difficulty, or to make some proposal.

In course of time a boarding committee developed, which promised to be an increasingly useful body. It is a representative affair. The mothers elect two from among themselves, while each family elects one of its

members. The two ladies in charge are ex-officio members, and one of them is secretary, while one of the Indian teachers is treasurer, having full charge of all the money, and making all the payments. Monthly budgets are presented, accounts are read out month by month, mothers are appointed or dismissed, applications for admission are considered, accepted, or declined, and any matter affecting all the families is discussed and disposed of by this committee.

The extent to which the two foreigners are able to sink themselves, and abstain from domination in their relation to the girls, is shown by a crisis which developed in connexion with the recent financial stringency. With high prices and loss in exchange, wage-earners frequently had to wait several weeks before they could receive their money. The girls realized the gravity of the situation, and finally summoned a general parliament, appointed their own chairman, and brought forward the proposal that the family system should be abolished, because it was too expensive. It would have broken the hearts of the two ladies in charge to have this proposition carried. No greater test of subordinating their own wills to community action could have come to them. But they had made up their minds to hold their peace and simply record a negative vote, lest on such a matter as this, which the girls knew was a vital one to their teachers, the girls should be afraid to stand out against them. A hasty vote was taken, and to the superintendents' dismay the motion was carried. Then suddenly one of the girls electrified the meeting by protesting with fiery eloquence against the scheme, showing the inability of the proposers to bring forward any satisfactory system to take the place of the families. She so carried the meeting that

another vote was demanded, and the proposal was defeated—but without a word from the two most interested.

A proposal was then made that the mothers' salaries should be lowered, but this motion was defeated. The next proposal for helping the financial situation was that there should be a return to the piece-work system, because they knew this paid the work-room better. The superintendents objected strongly and voted against it, but it was carried. The ladies then proposed a work-room committee which should be responsible for the needle-work department, just as the boarding committee was responsible for its own department, with one of the superintendents acting under it as manager. This was carried, and the new committee has been working for some months with success.

It will be noticed to what extent the two foreigners attempt to sink themselves in the community. They have to be leaders, and wish to be ; but not leaders from the outside. From this point of view, as well as from many others, they have been impelled to make their daily lives approximate as far as possible to the life of the community. One has lived in the girls' quarters as one of the mothers for over two years—lives with them, eats with them, sleeps with them. The principal has been able to take over a family for a few months at a time. However, after experiencing the benefit of getting close to girl-thought and life by living with her pupils, she could not go back to the old life in the bungalow. While retaining one room there, she has housekeeping arrangements with one of the girls who lives separately.

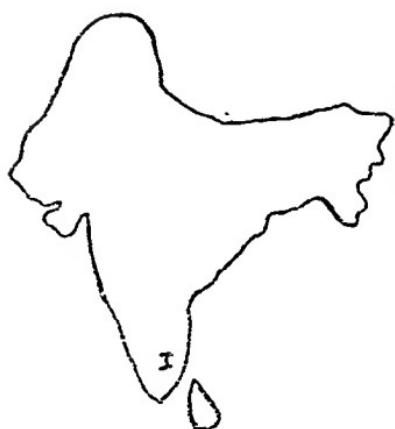
Neither sales nor medals in the industrial department, nor a bumper wheat harvest, nor even baptisms, are the tests by which this school judges its success. Salamatpur

regards itself as a place for the formation of Christian character. What they really ask themselves is whether, as a result of the life of the school, girls are really developing character and self-respect—whether they are being made capable and honest, industrious and sensible. In the forefront of all their work and all their thought is kept the thought of their school motto, 'Immanuel—God with us.'



CHAPTER VI

AN INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTION FOR WOMEN



HERE and there over India homes have been established where women who need guidance and protection may find a place for living amid safe and uplifting conditions. One reason for such homes is that missionaries have had to solve the problem of caring for the women who under their instruction have become open

Christians. As long as such a woman finds it possible to remain under her own family roof there is food, clothing, and shelter for all. But a sincere Christian is seldom tolerated there. For she cannot with them worship the family idol, nor engage with them in the religious ceremony of lighting the evening lamp, nor can she share in many other customs of Hinduism. Departures from family and caste practices are serious and unforgivable offences. Moreover, the new Christian feels the need of prayer, Bible study, and companionship that will help her in her upward growth. From both sides it generally becomes necessary for her to separate herself from these old relations. Where shall she go? Timid and shrinking, not wholly free from the dread of malignant spirits,

in danger from a society which shows little respect for an unprotected woman, penniless, with no experience of the world—such a one needs help.

There is a second far less recognized reason for such homes. Young girls from the primary and lower grammar grades, some of them having hardly overcome the mechanical difficulties of reading, and few of them educated in any real sense, are constantly going back from boarding schools to a village life which affords them little aid in maintaining a high level of moral and intellectual life, while containing many elements that tend to lower the tone of both. Living in distant or lonely places, conspicuous in the village because of some degree of education, and finding suitable employment difficult, their lot is full of perils. Poverty makes it necessary for the parents to work and often to be absent from home, and hence there is at times practically no protection. The girl of sixteen thus sits unemployed, and a possible prey to ever-present tempters. Provision has by no means been sufficiently made for the needs of such girls from the time they finish the elementary school until they are old enough to marry (say, ages 14-18). What they require is not higher literary education—certainly not with stipends all paid for them—but an opportunity for earning their living along with some study, and thus keeping themselves in touch with higher and better life until time for marriage, or until they are old enough to become teachers or workers in other ways. There is a fearful leakage in this interval between the elementary school and the attainment of sufficient maturity for marriage or service, caused by allowing such girls to be subjected during these formative years to the stagnating atmosphere of the village.

When in response to either of these needs such women

have once been brought together, it would seem short-sighted not to train them. Since they are without financial resources, it seems best to make them as far as possible self-supporting during training.

II

One of the oldest and most successful of institutions established to meet such needs is Rachanyapuram (Salvation Place)¹ located in the very heart of the Tamil country. Just three miles away from the school is Madura, for many years the political, religious, and intellectual capital of southern India, a city with 150,000 people. Round about the school is open country dotted with banana groves, rice fields, and banyan-shaded roads, while in the distance rise the striking, lonely rocks, around which gather so much of legend and tradition.

Here we find the training-work clearly defined under four departments. The main work is a *Training Department* established in 1892, with the chief aim of training Bible-women for mission service. Of recent years normal school methods have been introduced, all the work has been made the subject of criticism and discussion, and the girls do a great deal of practice teaching under supervision. These prospective Bible-women visit the nearby city schools, hold mothers' meetings, visit the homes of Christians, inspect the work of the large corps of Bible-women at work in Madura, secure their own home pupils

¹ The Lucy Perry Noble Bible School, Madura, South India; principal, Miss Eva M. Swift, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The information about this school was obtained from interviews with the principal, reports for the years 1910-20, and other papers kindly given by the principal.

and teach them, and do tent-work and village preaching under the leadership of experienced workers.

The *Extension Department* is meant for village women who come to the school for a very short time to get a start in reading and a certain amount of Scripture instruction. Each one is given an individual teacher, the pupils in the Bible school taking this as part of their training. Reading, selected lyrics, special memory verses, and a series of Bible lessons are taught. It is a great stimulus to the students to see the progress made by women who on entering are quite illiterate.

A small *Day School* is necessitated because so many of the candidates for admission are widows with little children. There are some twenty children on the grounds for which no other school would be available.

And lastly, there is the *Industrial Department*, begun in 1912, in order to meet the needs outlined in the first section of this chapter. The intention here is not the teaching of trades, nor to have an industrial school in any technical sense. The aim is to provide a means of self-support during a time of less intensive training. The management is prepared to receive as many as seventy-five young women into this department. They may be of any educational standard, even illiterate, but not under fourteen years of age.

III

It is no small attainment for the head of such a school to discover what industries will be profitable in any given locality. Much experimentation—much of it unsuccessful—often is made before practical and profitable industries can be discovered. In this connexion the experience

of an industrial institution at Baranagore,¹ near Calcutta, is especially instructive. They tell us of the beginnings, how it seemed natural to suppose that the widow, who had been accustomed in her Hindu home to earn money by hammering metal links together into a neck chain, should continue such work. But, to the disappointment of the superintendent, it was found that, as she had become a Christian, none of her former employers would give her work. A sewing-machine was bought. Jackets and other clothing were made by the women, but who would buy? The Mohammedan tailors could work better and more cheaply, so this industry did not last long. Friends in Calcutta, six miles away, urged them to make good, plain cakes. Regular orders came in, and there seemed hope for a profit. But the women were not clever: they did not understand whether the cakes were 'heavy' or 'light,' as they never eat such things, so that sometimes a whole batch was spoilt in the making, and thus the profit was nothing. Lace-making was introduced, as there was known to be a great demand for good lace; but the women's fingers were clumsy, they could only make a few inches a day, and hence could not compete with those who had nimble fingers. Fine drawn-thread work and handkerchief-making was tried; but these once-Hindu women had never used their eyes for any close work, not even reading; consequently their eyes gave them much trouble, and they frequently had to be taken to the eye hospital for spectacles and treatment. An added difficulty lay in the character of the women. For

¹ Converts' Industrial Home, Baranagore, Bengal; Miss J. A. Evans superintendent, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. It is in connexion with this home that the modified apprentice school described in pages 27-36 developed.

they were not naturally industrious, and sometimes feigned or exaggerated sickness in order to get off work.

Successful industries, however, were at last found. By a happy thought they began to make mango chutney for export to England, and ever since it was first tried this has continued to be a paying industry. To this were added the making of jams and of curry powder. Two hundred and forty pounds of the last were sent each week during a part of the war to the Indian troops in Mesopotamia. For guava jelly, orange marmalade, and Cape gooseberry jam a good sale was found in the neighbourhood of Calcutta.

At the suggestion of their gatekeeper they began to make Mirzapur carpets. The work was easy and mechanical, so that the women and children learned it quickly, and were able to produce handsome rugs. In order to save on the price of wool, they set about learning how to dye wool, so that now they can buy wool off the backs of sheep and make it up into beautiful rugs. Needle-work and the making of necklaces from seeds were successfully introduced for those who could do this work.

IV

Returning in our thought to Rachanyapuram, near Madura, we may note that the start in industry here was made with sewing, embroidery, and lace-making (see Plate vii), and several years later the making of jams, jellies, and marmalade. But even here experience had to be wrought out. Since hosts of little Indian children wear *kurtas* (loose, simple upper garments) it would seem an obvious thing to turn them out by the score. But perhaps you have never haggled with an Indian

woman over prices ! She will barter for two hours over a twelve-cent purchase, and no one can support a school that way. Baskets are needed, and a few dozen could be sold locally. But they would have to be made and sold by the thousand to make an industry suited for institutional work. The making of woollen caps seemed to be a real discovery, and they were made by the hundred to a standard pattern. But soon the industry was taken up by bazaar people, the quality changed, and now there is no market for woollen caps in that area. Experiences like these make the passing judgements of critics seem shallow when they condemn such schools for catering to a foreign market. After all, the problem of discovering a suitable institutional industry is different from that of providing a practicable household industry. The element of quantity in production makes all the difference. At present mainly the West, and people in India living in Western style, have the means to purchase the kind of products that will yield a profit when produced in quantity.

In 1913 nineteen acres of land were secured for gardening and farming purposes (see Plate viii). The students have planted a number of fields of rice and done other field-work ; but the land was found to be very poor, and has required so much working and fertilizing that that industry has not yet begun to pay.

For these industrial pupils classes for general education and Bible study are arranged. Just now four special courses for them are being worked out in order to raise the level of thought and practice in the home :—

Home management, using a model Indian cottage, brooms that do not necessitate one's head being down in the dust, chimneys fitted to the Indian *chula* (stove), etc.

Home gardening, stimulating them to use the little plots about a village house, even if no larger than six by ten feet, for getting a few fresh vegetables, and stimulating a desire for beauty in one's village through flowers and creepers.

Home medicine and nursing, which will by no means attempt the completeness of a medical school, but is simply a course in home nursing. The average health in the school is poor. The women who come to the school may seem all right in their former environment, where they are lazy, and squat about at their work, and where ailments are taken as a matter of course. But when they come into a regular scheme of institutional life, the effects of under-nourishment, anaemia, trial, and hardship begin to tell. It is proposed to fit up a room as a dispensary, where these women and others can come in groups and be treated by those who are being trained to handle such simple troubles as boils, itch, colds, and the like.

A fourth course will be in *home industries*, but so far no such industry has been evolved that does not require foreign managerial ability to market the product.

Some young people, whether boys or girls, seem to need work with things to quicken their capacity to deal with ideas. This is illustrated in the experience of the present head of the work-room in the school at Madura. It was with difficulty that she was helped through the primary classes. Hopeless of getting her further on in her literary education, she was sent to learn to sew. To-day she is in charge of the sewing classes, and not only prepares all the work for the embroiderers, but herself draws and designs, showing much intelligence in the use of patterns. She has also developed a keenness for study.

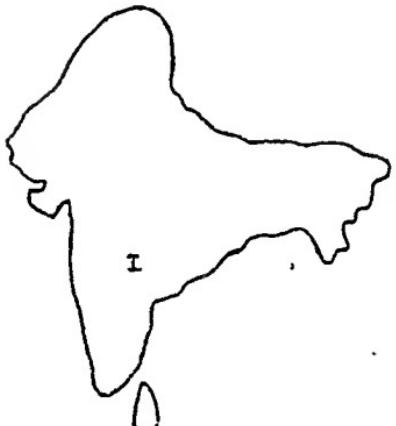
The first year the industrial department was run at a

there were found Sr.92. Marianimal, who is shut away from Christians and forbidden to come to the school, slipped out of her house one day when a Bible-woman was passing, and put sixteen cents into her hand 'to give the mother for the Lord.' Jeevavathi, a convert living a lonely life in a village where there are no other Christians, walked many miles to bring a friend, who gave eight cents 'for my daughter, as an offering to the Lord.' Jeevavathi added eight cents more.

Principalship during such a development requires business ability and plenty of initiative as well. Battles over land had to be fought, and plans for four buildings drawn up. They have laid out the grounds; made roads which required metalling because of the heavy clay soil; dug wells; levelled and graded the farm lands for rice cultivation; planted several hundred trees; and erected servants' houses. About a thousand business letters are required each year in the industrial department, and much of the burden for these is thrown on the principal when the school clerk has to be drafted into building work. To such cares are added the drain due to characteristic understaffing in mission schools and the anxiety for health conditions with overcrowded dormitories in a land where serious epidemics seem ever to be hovering about. In most such schools a comparatively small sum would adequately establish the institution in buildings and staff, and make possible fruitage a hundredfold.

ILLITERATES AND EMERGENCY METHODS

I



MEDAK¹ is a station of the Wesleyan Mission in Hyderabad, almost at the centre of India, and is the headquarters of a great and growing work amongst Telugu people of the most abject poverty to be found in India. At Medak one finds personality, team-work, and division of labour; initiative and the adaptation of means to

selected ends; energy, drive, and the use of great resources, both human and divine. All these are needed, because making bricks without straw is child's play compared with the task of making men at Medak.

To understand the problem at Medak it is necessary to picture to yourself the emergency caused by the

¹ The material for this chapter was obtained through a four days' visit to Medak, and from mission reports for this station for the past twenty-five years. The missionary in charge is the Rev. C. W. Posnett, Wesleyan Mission, Medak, Nizam's Dominions, India. With him associated in the work of the station are his sister, three other Europeans, and eight Indian Christians.

beginning of what is called a 'mass movement.' These movements, whereby a whole village or all of a given caste in a village turn to Christianity and which rapidly extend throughout a whole language area, constitute the dominating factor in the missionary situation in India. What happened in the Wesleyan Mission is characteristic of the crisis that has had to be faced by many other missions as a result of their work. Nizamabad, a neighbouring mission station to Medak, had been the centre of the mission's hardest district with practically no visible results. At last, in 1915, came the longed-for break. It was largely due to the medical work of a woman doctor, which until that time had apparently been unavailing. The first to come forward was the very person who had stoned away the first missionary. In 1915, Nizamabad had 300 Christians; in 1919, 6,000. Estimating an average of fifty Christians to a village, this would make desirable the development of 114 new workers for this district alone if each village was to have a worker of some sort, teacher or preacher, to help them out of their poverty, illiteracy, and demon worship. New baptisms to the extent of 20,000 were reported by the mission as a whole for the past three years. The mission looks to Medak for teachers for this multitude.

Hence the educational situation at Medak is dominated by the pressing need for teachers and preachers. The leaders of the work rightly feel that they should not merely baptize the people and leave them uninstructed. The dilemma in all such movements is well illustrated by the answer of a Christian who, beside a well one day, was talking with a passing missionary. They had chatted about the crops and family affairs, when the missionary, who only rarely could come that way, inquired: 'Well,

Narsiah, under the new teaching are you like a fine young tree, or are you merely a dry stick having a name, but dead ?' In a couple of terse sentences he gave the answer : ' I am just what you make me. If you water me well, I grow ; if not, I wither.' When there are 50,000 such people depending, directly or indirectly, on you for Christian development, the tendency is to make education serve the one great need of developing mission workers.

The resourceful leader at Medak compares his group of training institutions to the *keddahs* in which the jungle-beaters catch wild elephants. A broad and apparently natural road in the heart of the forest narrows gradually into a strong stockade, toward which wild elephants are driven unsuspiciously. Once inside, tame elephants break them slowly into service, so that the scourge of the countryside becomes as gentle as a lamb. Medak is the *keddah* of this district. The raw village youth and the bright boy from school are disciplined to service by students already there and by teachers of their own class. They are in touch with each other and with the kind of people they have afterwards to lead. Therefore it is that they take back with them not only the gains of learning, but the simple outlook and plain, blunt speech that alone win the ear of the villager. Figuratively speaking, one may say that the paths that lead to this *keddah* are long and tortuous, but the clearings are left open, and every year recruits arrive.

Critics from the outside say that such an effort to secure one type of product is a very narrow view of education, and that education should be shaped so as to make possible the highest and most varied self-expression on the part of each. But the missionary in a mass

movement area feels the terrible weight of responsibility for the group. True, at baptism there was evidence of some change in corporate thought. In a measure they may have overcome their fear of the power of idols. In one village the idol shrine was actually used as a hen-coop, and in another as a receptacle for rubbish. But the missionary knows all too well that nurture of every kind is needed. The conversation by the well still rings in one's ears : ' If you water me well, I grow ; if not, I wither.' He *must* develop shepherds for his flock. This is the situation that causes one to adopt emergency methods in developing leaders.

II

It will be worth while to go back twenty years in thought and see how Medak got its start in buildings and in a Christian constituency.¹ In the extraordinarily severe famine of 1896-1900 the superintendent and his sister turned their large compound, situated just outside the town and with a big open plain on one side, into a relief centre. Families poured in from all the country round, some from a distance of over thirty miles, most of them non-Christians. This crowd of idle, starving, poor people, many weak and all unskilled, were set to making the future training institutions possible. Foundations were dug, stone quarried, bricks burned, and wells dug, until one by one the needed buildings were finished.

No one could be surprised that missionaries should work to the utmost limit of their strength in times of famine—

¹ The description which follows is abbreviated from *The Gospel of the Mala*, by Frederick Lamb, pp. 57-8.

English civilians were doing this with equal devotion. But what is remarkable is that any one so pressed should have had the foresight and energy to organize for these people a system of instruction. It is one thing to save a body of people from famine death ; it is another to keep a camp from degenerating into a rabble of discontented and pauperized dependents. To exact from such a mixed multitude, drawn together only by the impulse of self-preservation, an honest day's work, and to arrange for their systematic instruction, took administrative skill. Every worker was drawn into service ; those who could teach had their task set ; some who could not were taught how, until with months of practice they became adepts. Each day began and ended with singing, prayer, and Scripture teaching. Nothing was left to chance. The hymns were carefully chosen, and repeated again and again ; selected stories from our Lord's life were made into a syllabus and taught on a system. The whole camp became a Bible school, divided into classes, each class following the same course. None of the people could read. All of them were ignorant ; all, again, were weak with starvation and toil. Yet by the time the famine ended they could sing by heart many Christian hymns, and repeat the Gospel in their own quaint fashion. In this way the ground was prepared for a movement towards Christianity which at once lifted the Medak circuit into a position which in ordinary times would have required many years of toil.

III

There are in Medak a boys' and a girls' boarding school, a theological training institution, and classes for emergency catechists—altogether a thousand people under training

in this busy mission compound. Different capacities and grades of students are recognized :—

(a) Those who are unable to pass any examinations, even with some one to write for them. They, however, can be used in the villages, preparing the way, reducing opposition, etc.

(b) Those who can pass examinations, but, being illiterate, need some one to write out their answers.

(c) Pupils studying in the vernacular, but of poorer calibre.

(d) Vernacular pupils.

(e) Pupils studying English.

(f) Pastors.

The whole thing has been an evolution. Some time ago the (a) stage was discarded as men with higher qualifications were becoming obtainable in sufficient number. Grade (b) is now in the process of being discarded. Grade (c) was begun in 1915. For these, teaching is still in the Telugu language, but a reading knowledge of English is valued because it greatly enriches their choice of reading, and increases their prestige in the villages. Only recently have they been able to inaugurate grade (f).

In turning out the final product, Medak's Temple of Pity—the hospital—has had its share. Any sudden change in environment, like bringing these young men and women away from their out-of-door life in the villages to the routine of boarding life, is in India especially conducive to phthisis. So a professionally qualified person takes their weights from month to month, and alters the diet as seems necessary. Often malarial fevers and incipient tuberculosis are detected from a skilful reading of these charts. Eyes are often found to be defective, and as spectacles are impractical, bad cases are sent back

to the fields. One of the most novel means of helping the school was the provision of a large packing-case, called the 'itch-box,' so arranged that a pupil could be put inside with only his head protruding through a tightly fitting hole. Into this box with the patient were put burning charcoal and sulphur, an effective cure for a very common malady in schools.

IV

The methods and many-sided completeness of the work at Medak are exceptional in India. Of these the emergency training is the most distinctive, although not necessarily the most important. A description of this work will be suggestive of what may be done with illiterates.

The plan adopted was to get hold of raw village youths—if possible, those who had attended some night school—and their wives, and bring them into Medak for a few months' training. The Medak leaders well knew the kind of material with which they had to deal, and years before this crisis had worked out some methods for these backward people. Attempts had been made to teach just the same sort of youths, rescued from an out-caste village, or from the semi-starvation of a famine camp. At family prayers stories from the Gospel would be told, but though one story was studied for a week no one remembered anything. So the method was changed. The mediæval miracle plays and the passion play at Ober-Ammergau gave the clue for the new plan. They began to act out the stories, with the result that morning prayers became the most exciting part of the day and the Bible became a living thing.

St. Paul was dropped down over the wall in a basket,

was whipped in a new Philippian market, and preached to his prætorian guard in an improvised Roman prison. Elijah was fed by beautiful mud-made crows, whilst the story of Naboth's vineyard held the audience spell-bound. Paralytics were let down from the roof, the hungry were filled, the dumb shouted, and the lame danced. The pigs of Gadara were drowned, and the cries of the man who lived among the tombs were stopped. Each story was carefully prepared, and performed with the greatest reality. Even shy, backward women and servants understood and unconsciously took part. The chance of irreverence was carefully guarded against, the sacred character never being acted, but His words alone being repeated in the third person. The effects produced by these children of reverent and worship-loving India were such that those in charge were convinced that the plan produced better results than all the blind formalities which are too often reckoned of great value.

Mass movement teaching requires great simplicity, and the head of Medak had the patience to drive one thing home at a time. His practice is well illustrated by his procedure when, one evening, his servant had placed the lantern where he stumbled over it on the way to the dinner-table. As soup came on he said to the servant, 'Why did you put the lantern in that place?' He showed no irritation, nor did he expect an answer. But when the next course came on, again the same question, 'Why did you put the lantern there?' And so on for each course. The servant never forgot. Similarly in the villages: 'Who is the Saviour of the world, Billa?' 'Jesus Christ is the Saviour of the world.' And so the same question goes around to Kadari and Batsu and the

woman Latchmi, until that statement is fastened indelibly.

The emergency men are taught a dozen lyrics, the life of Christ, the elementary facts of the Christian faith, and how to keep a village register. A map of Palestine is marked out on the open space of land, and the towns and rivers are marked upon it. Those who show some promise are kept for twelve months' training, and some may be able to take advantage of a three years' course. With such training as they can assimilate they are sent out in groups of five or six under superintending evangelists, who guide them in teaching and administration.

What seemed to be a very effective means of developing an erect bearing and self-respect in the men was the very excellent marching and setting up exercises under the direction of a trained master. One thousand rupees had been spent in sending twelve men up to Poona for training under the Y.M.C.A. 'Money was never spent better,' was the remark on this experiment. When these rough illiterate outcastes started their drill, they could do nothing together—could not raise their right hands at the same time. It was remarkable to see how they had responded to training.

Since these emergency men and women are adults, and have been taken away from their field-work, their expenses must be paid. Bachelors are given Rs.5 per month. Clothes are sold to them very cheaply, at one-third their cost. In the holidays they get their usual allowance in addition to what they may be able to earn.

Four hundred men and wives have been trained as emergency workers. The dull ones are not retained after two or three months. One hundred and ninety-three had to be sent back again to coolie work. Would that some

Thorndike had worked out a psychological test for measuring the mental capacity of these illiterates!¹ Thus might one be saved the failures, and be able to spend time and influence on those who could best profit by the opportunity.

V

The wives of the present-day emergency men are taught sewing. Imagine teaching women who never saw a needle and who find scissors a most difficult implement! They are taught a design for their simple jacket that needs no scissors. Story-telling is also taught, while the third factor in their curriculum came as an inspiration—action songs. Knowing that most of these women in the time allotted, and with all their tradition of illiteracy behind them, would not be able to learn to read; and knowing also how these people love to sing, and how they pick up with the greatest ease what is presented in that form, Miss Posnett set about getting the parables and life of Christ in the form of simple lyrics. First the stories were told these village women, and then, keeping herself in the background, she would get them to talk them over, catching their simple expressions and incorporating them in the verse. For almost every line there is an appropriate gesture. It is a stirring sight to see a double line of fifty of these women going through 'blind Bartimeus' or 'the foolish virgins,' using the quaint turns of thought that would be congenial to any villager, and with a vivacity of expression which showed

¹ Most suggestive to any one wishing to work out such tests would be the 'Army Beta Test.' It is described in *Army Mental Tests*, Yoakum and Yerkes (Henry Holt & Co., \$1.50, 1920, pp. 16, 79-87, 276-83).

that in this method they had found themselves. (See Plate ix.) The nearest analogy would be in the 'spirituals' of the American negro.

Can you see one of these sun-baked, mud-housed, Telugu villages, in which probably not a person can read or write? One or two score of people in the humblest section of the village have been baptized. Their one source of instruction is a young man and his wife who have been in at Medak for a time, and who have learned some songs and stories. As they gather the little band of Christians together in the evening after their hard day's work, listen to a few rough translations of the action songs which they sing with evident pleasure. Some will not be as interested in the theology of these songs as in the quaint language, the graphic action, and the awakened emotion.

THE PRODIGAL SON

A king of a certain country had two sons. The elder was wiser than the younger one.

The younger was impudent and would not listen to what his father said; even though his father punished him he used to be disobedient.

'Give me all my property. I will not stay a single minute. Give me my portion, and I will go away at once.'

'Nay, nay, my dear son. The words of your elders are like ice and curd. I will give you more money. Don't go away anywhere.'

'No, father. Do not hinder me. Give me, and I will get ready. I will not stay a moment.'

So taking elephants, sheep, and camels, he went joyfully with his bad companions to a far country.

He became a drunkard; did many sinful things; and wasted all his money till he had not a single dub in hand. He wasted everything.

He had nothing to eat nor clothes to wear. He suffered greatly in that far country. He suffered greatly and was very poor.

Having nothing to eat, he went to look for work, and could not even find any one to hire him. There came a time when he had to feed pigs to get a living.

Then, he who lived by wickedness sought his former position, and grieved that he had not listened to his father's words.

THE CANA WEDDING

Oh, all you people listen, and I will tell to you about a wedding of Mary's relatives in Cana of Galilee.

They whitewashed, and they made the pandal. They threw the cow-dung down, and made the salutation at the threshold.

They pounded rice, and sifted it, and ground the spices fine, and made all ready.

To relations and neighbours they sent the wedding notes, and all came to the feast.

One of the wedding notes was sent to the great Jesus, and He read it. He took all the disciples to the feast.

At that time the house-folk filled the stone jars with water right to the brim, six water pots.

The all-compassionate Jesus from behind came to the servants, and He said, 'Fill the pots with water, six water pots.'

Immediately those servants, according to Christ's words, filled the pots with water right up to the brim.

Jesus, who is God, with the help of grapes, Jesus, who is God, with the help of leaves *never* made that wine, He *never* made that wine.

The all-powerful Jesus, the all-holy Jesus, with water *only* made the wine, what a wonder.

According to the word of Jesus the servants filled a chumboo and took it to the elder and he drank of it.

'What is this? Oh, what is this? You have broken the custom. First you must give the good, and afterwards the sour. You, however, at the first did not give the good, but the tasteless wine you gave us to drink.'

In the same way now our Jesus changes the earth. From *the rain* He makes all the colours and all the different tastes. The yellow seeds He changes into bright green, and with water the grain He turns into black Noovoolu.

In the same way now our Jesus changes the heart, with *His blood* He makes white, our spirits He changes, Holy, Holy, Jesus.

THE SOWER

There was a farmer who had his very own land ; he never weeded it, but began to sow his seeds.

From his land he took away neither stones nor thorns, he put no hedge around it, and left a path thro' the middle.

Did you ever hear of such a lazy fellow ? To such a lazy farmer would there be any profit ?

Under his arm he tucked his seed-basket and began to sow. Some seeds fell on the roadside, but the birds ate all that.

Some other seeds fell on the stony ground, and the earth not being deep the roots withered with the sun.

Still more of his seeds fell amongst thorns, and growing up the little shoots were smothered with the thorns.

The seeds that fell on good ground began to shoot well, and by God's blessing brought forth tenfold.

Tho' that farmer had such a big field, by his laziness what profit was there for him ?

The kingdom of Heaven is like that farmer, and you and all of us have four kinds of soil.

To you, to me, to all of us there is the field of the heart, and we must get rid of the birds and thorns, and get victory over our temptations.

In the field of our hearts we must not keep thorns or stones, but love, patience, and helping others—such nature we must grow.

By the help of God's Holy Spirit, and by asking His power, we may get a harvest of thirty- or sixtyfold, or even more.

You and I and all of us with the greatest care must tie the ropes over the little good shoots that are springing up until they grow big.

Look, look, oh look, look, Satan's hovering over. With the sling in your hand kill him, kill him, kill him quick.

By what power, oh, by what power can I do it? Our Lord Jesus gives all power.

'Lord Jesus, oh, Lord Jesus, give this power unto me that I may drive off Satan. This moment give to me.'

THE WIDOW OF NAIN

In a village called Nain there was a poor widow, she had one son, ah, ah, she had but one son.

From the time his father died, with what love she loved him, that little son of hers until he grew up, with what love she loved him.

She pounded grain, she did sewing, she even begged, with what love she reared him. Oh, what love it was.

Tho' she reared him with such love and with such compassion, illness came to him, a great illness came to him.

To the physicians she gave money, they gave him good medicine, they looked after him well, with great love they looked after him.

Tho' so much money was spent, tho' so much good medicine was given, his illness was no better, not the least better.

The illness increased and spread thro' his body, and he died, alas, alas, he died.

'My son, my son, the little son that I have borne, art thou going? Oh, art thou going? Alas, art thou dead? Oh, can it be that thou art dead?'

'Before your eyes it is I who should have been put in the grave, but you, are you going? Will you put such sorrow to your mother?'

As she was weeping thus, her neighbours and friends arrived, and spoke comforting words, to her spoke comforting words.

'God has given, and when He takes can others prevent it? Weep not. Oh, weep not. In a little time we also shall be going.'

The neighbours and friends made the bier, and four of them carried him away to the gate of the village.

'Listen, listen, oh My disciples, what is that noise, go and see and return and tell to Me.'

'Jesus Lord, oh, Jesus Lord, a widow had one son and he has died, and you hear his mother weeping.'

Our sympathizing Jesus wiped the tears of that poor widow, and then He touched the bier and the four bearers halted.

Our Lord took the hand of the dead boy. 'Oh young man, rise up,' said He, and the boy rising, again He said, 'Give him something to eat.'

On to that mother's heart it was as if cold water had been thrown on fire. Oh how she rejoiced, she did indeed rejoice.

Look, all you people, what a great God is ours. A corpse that a moment later would have been put into the grave, even such a one did He raise from the dead.

How could *we* raise one from the dead? The *living God*, however, did it in this way. Look, all you people.

What kind of God is this, oh, what kind of a God, in all the wide world there is no god like unto our God.

Both the men and the women are encouraged to learn the folk-dances of the district, often with hymns set to them. The group in the picture on Plate ix are dancing to a lyric in praise of the qualities of their King Jesus. One man has bells about his ankles; the others have bare feet. 'The Life of Moses' is adapted to a similar folk-dance for the women. These dances give the villagers something to do at night, and even the children imitate their elders' motions before they can appreciate the words.

Let us look again upon those fifty faces as they sing and act these songs. They are very, very poor. Only a few years or months ago they were banging their doors in the face of the woman doctor who was opening up their district. They come from a community where moral standards have been crude. It is exceedingly difficult to get them to wash the two or three garments they possess. If not for some outside compulsion, a jacket

would be worn until it falls away in shreds. Sometimes it seems hopeless to change the personal habits of these older emergency folk, and one is thankful for the children upon whom an earlier start can be made. Each woman in that line will soon be the only Christian woman in her village forty miles away. How much can God or man rightfully expect of her and her Christian husband? One thing is certain—their songs will be quickly caught. Their friends will sit by the hour singing and beating a tin box, which makes an excellent substitute for the very popular native drum. Even old men (though ‘they sing like goats,’ as the Telugus themselves say) learn the hymns and join heartily in the singing. Women will repeat the songs at their work in the rice-fields. And night after night there steals over the quiet Hindu village the sound of some Christian lyric; and the people, chatting by their doorsteps in the moonlight, whisper to one another, ‘The Christians are making prayers.’

VI

Already in the Medak district the time is approaching when the experiment of employing emergency men and women, who should pass out to the work after only six months’, or a year’s, or two years’ training, shall have served its day. In the meantime, while the mission is consolidating this great mass movement, the work has been greatly helped by those who have responded to the sudden call, and have courageously tried to lead their still weaker brethren on as far as their all too inadequate training made possible. The significant thing is that there is a period when a system of education for illiterates needs to be set up, and when the greatest possible

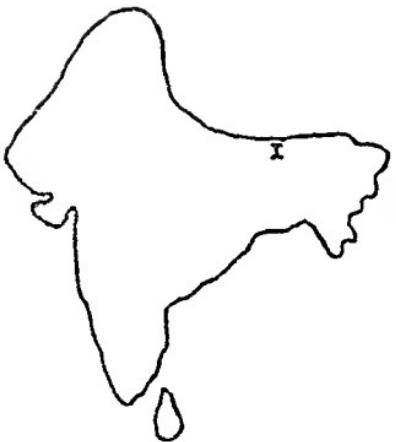
use is made of the oral method of instruction through song.

To some the training given to these emergency men and women will seem exceedingly simple. Simple now seem the methods of the discredited Lancastrian system. And yet this system was a necessary step in awakening England to the possibility of popular education. The masses of India may catch their first enthusiasm for education from a temporary expedient which does not emphasize literacy. It is easily possible for Westerners to place too great an emphasis on ability to read and write, for India just now needs an immense amount of adult education on a non-literary basis. Handicraft work, the stereopticon, moving pictures, sanitation campaigns, demonstrations—all these are agencies that can be powerfully used among illiterates. Surely the world's educational theory and experience should be brought to bear upon awakening these stagnant minds and obtaining truest results in the surest way.

CHAPTER VIII

LITERACY IN NATURE'S BOOK

I



TWENTY-FOUR hours from Calcutta is a mountain station where one of the world's most superb views stretches out before the eye. It is Kalimpong. In clear snowy grandeur, just across the great Tista valley, rises Kinchenjanga—the Peak of the Five Pearls—the second highest mountain in the world. For those who

have once stood in the spirit of awe and reverence before the glory of sunrise or sunset upon these towering peaks it must for ever be the embodiment of sublimity. To this wondrous place the Scottish Universities Mission sent one¹ who proved to be a genius in developing nature study.

In his Himalayan school, which teaches from the primary through high school, are 350 pupils. Over half of them are Hindus, about a third are Christians, and the rest are

¹ Rev. W. S. Sutherland, D.D., principal of the Boys' High School, Scottish Universities Mission, Kalimpong, retiring in 1920 after forty-one years' service.

largely Buddhists. Here leaders are being trained for States whose very names are unfamiliar to most Westerners, for the roll is made up of Lepchas, Bhutanese, Nepalis, Thibetans, and Chinese. While we were there an old boy dropped in from his post in Bhutan, twenty-six marches away over the hills ! He was the pioneer teacher in this State, and the heir-apparent is studying under him.

The school at Kalimpong has manual training—not carpentry, but self-expression and hand-and-eye training in making all sorts of wonder toys in wood. There is also a teacher-training department. When the Government of Bengal contemplated opening up schools in its tea-gardens and faced the question of supplying teachers, instead of starting a training school of their own, they sent their students to the Scottish Universities Mission Training Institution, contributing the salary of one European and one Indian teacher. There is a deep Christian tone about the school, and exceptionally thorough Bible teaching. Exceptional also was it to find the principal and his family eating their breakfasts regularly with the boys in the dormitory dining-room.

II

The distinctive message of this school, however, gathers about the hour of nature study and the way it is correlated to other subjects taught. Most Government educational codes in India make provision for a period for nature study. But this is often very conventional, bookish, and conducted by those who themselves have never learned to love and understand the things about them. The sight of Kinchenjanga, with her glorious peaks of snow, was hardly more exceptional and refreshing

than to come upon a school where this subject has ceased to be wooden and artificial. In this department the principal is unconventional in his methods. He believes that much of our teaching fails because it allows reading *about* objects to take the place of the study of the objects themselves. He feels that the faculty of observation is not developed by reading books of science, and so science primers were abolished in his school ten years ago. It is because certain well-known modern principles and methods of nature study are here exemplified in a decidedly original way that a rather full description is given of this aspect of the school.

The pupils get fairly excited over the growth of a young bamboo plant. For they plot a curve to show how much it grows on successive days—one half-inch, one inch, *two* inches, *TEN* inches, and then less and less for each twenty-four hours. They are made curious to find out how far the roots of a bamboo will spread in a year, and by measurement find that they will travel as far as twelve feet.

In one class-room we found a nature calendar, with the first cosmos recorded at its proper date. In another, three cages hung from the ceiling. They had been made by the boys. Inside were the cocoons of three Atlas moths. Having fed the caterpillars, the class was keen to see the moths when they should come forth. Behind the school is a small pen, about which the boys gather to see a bristling porcupine. Several beetle-boxes are on the veranda. Himalayan butterflies are famed for their exquisite colouring, and the school collection would make a professional envious.

The drawing lesson in another class revealed an unusual object for study. In front of each pair of boys, fixed to

the front of their desk, was a Y-shaped piece of split bamboo with a few strands of web across, on which calmly sat a great big spider. One admired the teacher for knowing that twenty spiders could be induced to sit this way and be drawn. Each boy has secured his own specimen, according to the kind prescribed, and as they draw him they study him closely. They learn that spiders have stiff poison-sacks under the control of a voluntary muscle ; different from the snake's poison-sack, which is soft and works automatically.

One day, as they were examining a specimen, the spider began to change its skin. They eagerly watched, and could see its back split down. Out came head and legs. At a previous time they had recorded concerning this same spider that in a fight it had lost a leg. When the spider came out, there was great excitement on finding that the lost leg had grown out again. While observing the spiders the boys feed them on locusts and grass-hoppers. These are no match for the spiders, which clutch them by the back and soon all is over. But just after the spider has changed its skin, it is observed to be soft, and then it is not uncommon for the locust to win.

At a certain stage of the war there was great demand by one of the departments in India for a spider whose web was needed for the cross wires in instruments. They could not get them in Calcutta, the usual source, because it was at the beginning of the hot weather. This school supplied the deficiency.

At a little distance from the school building are two small cement platforms with a slender, perpendicular iron rod in the centre of each. These are shadow measures for getting the meridian of the place. With the rod as centre, a series of circles have been marked on the cement. One

boy is asked to note the spot at which the shadow of the upright central rod falls on the first circle in the morning and then again in the afternoon—in other words, the spots at which the shadows are the same length. From this the meridian can be determined. Other boys repeat the experiment as a check, using other circles. Each year a new rod is put up. The boys must mix the cement, lay the platform, and insert the rod quite perpendicularly. A still further, though less accurate, check is made at night by sighting on the north star with simple apparatus.

Near by is a sundial. This, too, is made anew each year by the highest class. There are also two rain-gauges. The boys measure the diameter of the opening, calculate the area exposed, and from observations of the quantity of water collected, ascertain the rainfall. A record is made on a chart showing the curve of variation in rainfall throughout the school year. Another chart gives the variation in temperature. Still another is a boy-made contour of the eastern mountain range, on which from time to time the exact peak at which the sun rose had been noted. Above each of these charts were placed the charts of the previous year. From a comparison they could see that while rain and temperature vary from year to year, the sun, like a great pendulum, swings back and forth along the horizon, and yet rises at the same place on the same date throughout the years.

If one goes into the primary grade, one may find the children playing with seeds on the floor. From these seeds one lad had outlined a goose; another a cock, a flag, a fish, or a kite. If a class is modelling an orange in clay, you may be sure that the first duty of the children was to procure the clay one fourth of a mile away. It would be easy to send away for raffia material, but instead of this

artificial procedure, they adopt the vastly better plan of using local material. The children are taught to take aloe leaves to the pond, soak and beat them into fibre, then deftly weave them into long slender strings. If a visitor picks up a bit to test its strength, the youngster grins, as he knows an aloe fibre is not apt to be thus broken. Some of the little fellows were making corn-shuck mats for local use.

III

Certain life histories are always studied—those of the mosquito, house-fly, and frog. On some one life history a class may specialize, as on the castor silk-worm. Similarly they study the germination of the common crops about them. In laboratory vessels they see the process. At certain stages, such as the coming of the first leaf, the class will have special opportunities for observation, sometimes for half a minute, sometimes for half an hour. When the parents are planting rice, one of the classes is planting rice and studying how it grows. Such study, of course, merges into agriculture, for the older boys in the training school through germination scientifically determine the percentage of live seed. This leads naturally to the selection of seed. They study the growth of turmeric and work with it until it is consumed in their curry. Arrowroot is cut with a knife made out of bamboo (and they know the reason why), washed, pounded, and enjoyed at the table to such an extent that the culture is being introduced in their homes.

This nature study is correlated, as far as possible, with other subjects. When they have been watching a specimen of their staple crop germinate, they sketch the plant

in the drawing period. If a net is needed in sericulture, the materials must be brought from the jungle. If the subject is beetles, or a moth that eats a certain kind of leaf, the boys must find them, draw them, and write essays about them.

IV

One would be acting absolutely contrary to the spirit of Kalimpong's nature study if one set out to copy it. It is not a *copy* of anything. They did not set out to make corn-shuck mats, or aloe-fibre string. These things grew out of the materials present in the environment. The development of their present sericulture plant is typical. It all began by the study of silk moths found wild in the jungle. The principal was leading the boys to see how, when the first mulberry trees begin to sprout, they will probably find one or two silk-worms beginning to come out. The wild moth which they had been using might be called the grandparent of the real silk moth. So the principal sent to a Government station for eggs of the regular mulberry silk-worm. When these were attacked by disease, specimens were sent away for advice. This happened a second year, when the inquiry came, 'What are you doing up there in the mountains?' They were asked to 'come and see.' On coming, the Government officers found just the kind of common-sense experimentation that they were eager should be done. It resulted four years ago in their constituting this school as a sericulture research centre. The making of the nets used in sericulture became an obvious addition to the handwork of the school. It has been found that even a single generation of the silk-worm is improved by living

in the hills, and the surrounding farmers are beginning to plant out stretches of mulberry in order to busy themselves with silk during the interval between sowing and reaping. No more significant illustration could be given of how the much-longed-for subsidiary industries for the village life of India are to be developed.

V

The boys are constantly being encouraged to open their eyes, and to think about what they see. They may be sent to a certain spring to discover when it begins to flow after the winter months. The date is compared with that of the previous year. Why is it later this season? They find the solution in a comparison of the rainfall charts of the two years. Or the date for the first swallow in the nature calendar is compared with the entry of the previous year. Why earlier? A clue comes from a comparison of the two temperature charts. 'Why do you plant corn in April?' 'It is the season.' 'But why is it the season?' 'It is the time.' But isn't there time in July, too?' 'Others do it.' 'But why do they do it?' Finally they are led to see that the seeds need certain conditions, increasing warmth and moisture, and that April gives both these.

If you ask a common hill gardener why he digs about a plant with a common stick he will answer, 'All do it. It is the custom.' If again you ask, he may say, 'The plant needs it.' Or if you ask why a plant rots when too much water is habitually given it, you can get no further than, 'It is the way of the plant.' But ask these same questions to one of the Kalimpong boys, and you will get some such answer as this: 'There is a hard crust about

the plant. If it remains, the air can't reach the roots, and roots need air. The plant will suffer as we would if we did not get enough air. If there is too much water, mud is formed, and air can't get through the mud.'

These mountain lads—just as we ourselves—are often blind to the commonest events about them. 'Have you ever seen the wild geese come down the Tista river?' the principal will ask a class. 'No.' Then at the proper time the class is taken out to the edge of the compound, looking away off between those wondrous, snow-capped mountains, where they can see the flocks of wild geese coming down the great valley of the Tista river—and never can they forget or be blind to that sight again.

In studying life histories, or working up to the principle of seed selection, or following turmeric until it disappears in curry, the principal holds that they are not studying zoology or botany—not in the sense of beginning systematically with monocotyledons and going right through a logical series—they are simply studying live things. He is not aiming to impart definite agricultural information, nor to make miniature model farmers. He is trying to train his pupils to be observers, thinkers, and experimenters.

Most of the people amongst whom his boys will live are illiterate. Books will be exceedingly few. But a great book lies about them—sun, moon, stars, and winds. *If they can learn to read this great book so full of changes, it will keep them fresh.* He wants his little lads in the third standard to be able not only to hold a book, but 'to read a plant,' and be literate in the sphere of nature's open book.

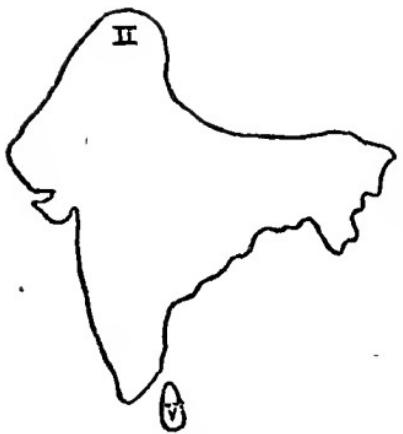
The inspiration of this experiment lies not alone in its suggestion for nature study. In fact, Kalimpong's nature

study is doubtless a little too finely drawn for the masses of India. But the same genius in teaching, the same independence from a dull routine, the same novelty in experimentation, the same alertness for practical applications, should be emulated in the solution of India's major problems in education.

CHAPTER IX

TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP

I



MANY schools are reaching out toward a larger social interpretation of their task. To formulate in large terms such an aim is comparatively easy. But it is harder to leave mere individualism behind in practice. Only here and there does one find a school which shows by the actual organization of its life that it is steadily working

for the uplift of a whole community through those educated. Amongst these, two schools stand out. Both have an exceptionally vigorous, manly atmosphere, and both are distinguished for the success with which they are training citizens for a country, rather than merely graduates for a school. In this development action is utilized rather than talk, and the principle of learning by doing receives unique embodiment. Each of these schools has a strong personality at its head, and in each traditions of great value have been built up through the years. One would know at once that experience gained

in British public schools had gone into these two educational institutions of the Church Missionary Society.

They are situated near the extremes of India. One is just north of India proper, in the Vale of Kashmir, a country famed as one of the loveliest in the world. Its capital, Srinagar, lies in a mountain-girt valley, through which flows the Jhelum, the ancient Hydaspes, one of the five rivers of the Punjab. The city is remarkably picturesque, with houses rising from the water's edge along either bank for three miles, and with bridges of a model dating back to Alexander stretching across the Jhelum's flood. Amongst the buildings on the river's bank is the Church Missionary Society High School, where 1,500 pupils study from kindergarten up to university entrance. Two-thirds of these are Brahmans, and the rest almost wholly Mohammedan. Although the men are handsome and the women beautiful, successive invasions have left them lacking in virility, and their capital of 130,000 people, although picturesque, has been notorious for its insanitary conditions. Under the thirty years' leadership of the Rev. C. E. Tyndale-Biscoe this day school has become a marked factor in transforming the spirit of this mountain State.

The second school is near the other extreme of India—at Kandy, on the beautiful island of Ceylon. Even the environment of the school is an inspiration. It is situated in the island's ancient capital, in the midst of the Kandyan hills. This region is distinguished for the beauty of its hill-tops, which command a view of far-reaching valleys, and for its varied wealth of tropical foliage. (See Plate x.) The prestige of this school and that of its principal, the Rev. A. G. Fraser, draws to it many sons of Kandyan chiefs. But poor boys also have a chance

to come through scholarships, for there is a definite desire to have all classes represented in their student body. About half of the pupils are Christians. The rest are Buddhists, Mohammedans, and Hindus.

II

The school at Srinagar¹ has made some very interesting educational experiments. Most prominent among these is the character form sheet (p. 137). It will be observed that the least emphasis is placed on examinational subjects, and that the greatest emphasis is placed on those moral qualities which go to make good citizens. Mind, body, and soul are given 1,000, 1,100, and 2,100 marks respectively. It starts with physical measurements. This at once makes the teacher observant of his boys' physique and leads him to eye them critically. The information gained through the sheets leads directly or indirectly to practical work and varied kinds of service. The character forms are likely to lead the teachers behind the scenes into the homes, the temples, and into the dark as well as the bright corners of the city. This knowledge of things as they are in the city affords opportunity for service. The questions lead them to discover various diseases in the boys, moral as well as physical. Having discovered them, they set to work to combat them. It may mean the hospital, or arrangements for better food, or it may mean change of companions. Marks are not given to the boys who excel at any particular sport, but to

¹ Data for this school have been secured from two visits to it in 1900 and 1912, but especially from the exceptionally interesting annual reports of the school, which have been freely used. A volume entitled *Character Building in Kashmir*, by Mr. Biscoe, has just come from the press (Church Missionary Society, London).

BOY'S CHARACTER FORM SHEET

Each boy has a page in the register to himself, and three times in the year his character is overhauled and ten down thus:—

F.....	Son of	Entered Central School.....	Class	Entered
N.....	Guardian.....	" "	19	Branch School.
Ort'n. of	Left			
Father				

those who try their hardest. For example, there may be a boy with only one workable leg, the other being withered, who receives more marks for swimming than many other boys who have the use of both their limbs.

The character form sheet adds enormously to the work of a conscientious teacher. Each is given a class of twenty-five to thirty-five boys, for whom he is entirely responsible, and must know everything about his charges. In this way the principal can know the history of any boy in a few minutes. Mr. Biscoe thus describes the way the record is checked :—

' The boys stand before me three times a year and have their character read out in front of their tutor, and have an opportunity of contesting any disputable point, and they do make use of this privilege, and I never sign the boy's form until the boy allows that every item is true. When a boy considers that he has not been treated fairly by his teachers, the whole class is asked to decide the question. This character sheet, being filled up term after term, gives me a first-class idea as to the growth and otherwise of a boy's character all round, and also shows whether the tutor has been doing his work properly ; and lastly, when a boy comes for his final character on leaving school, there in black and white is his life at school before his and my eyes, which he has acknowledged to me as correct. This fact has made many a careless boy think, for he always has in his mind State employment as his goal.'

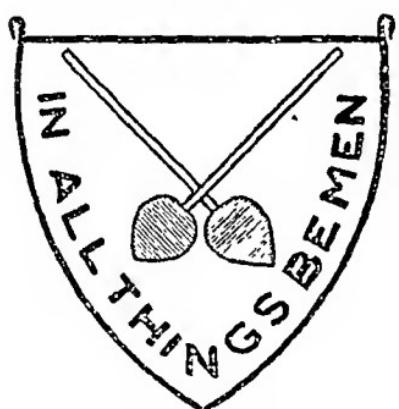
Many, looking at a scheme of this sort, would see difficulties. Mr. Biscoe would himself acknowledge that such a valuation of each boy in a school of 1,500 can only be approximate ; that it requires most careful watching, and constant supervision and inspection ; and that it can only be carried out if the staff works loyally and cheerfully with their hearts and not merely for rupees. He would say, however, that it does secure the ends he has in view—

getting the masters to know their boys, and putting before the boys in a way that they can grasp an entirely new conception of what education is. No boy need go to the wall, for each one has three strings to his bow. If he fails to get many marks for one talent, he may make them up with the other two. He sees also that talents have been given to be used for family, city, country, Empire.

The school plan for prizes and rewards is intended to develop group loyalty rather than individual selfishness. Instead of rewarding the top boys of the classes, they give a prize to the top class of the school, that is, the class which obtains the highest average in marks all round, for body, mind, and 'soul,' according to the character sheets. The boys may divide the prize among themselves or use it for some community venture like purchasing books for their class library, decorating their class-room, or for the relief of need. Mr. Biscoe, as a matter of fact, considers the orthodox custom of rewarding the highest boys in their classes as morally wrong, for it is not necessarily the boy who works hardest who gains the prize. In giving the prize to every one in the class which has done best, the plodder is encouraged. The slacker is looked after by his class-fellows. Similarly at the weekly regatta the five branch schools are given marks, not alone for winning, but for the percentage of their total enrolment who enter. Thus both teachers and boys try to get as many boys out as possible by appealing to the honour of the school. Later on they may be more ready to work for the honour of their country and their Empire.

It will be noticed that one of the items in the chart is *esprit de corps*. This is by no means yet as great as in an English public school, but it is distinctly growing.

Scores of boys are playing, as mentioned above, for the honour of the school. They are caring for the school flower gardens instead of destroying them as they used to do. They bring in recruits, build up their school museum, and come down hard on any boy who brings dishonour on the institution.



The school has a motto which has sunk into the consciousness of the boys. Not infrequently when some one asks them why they have done a certain deed, they answer, 'It is our school motto—In all things be men.' By a man the boys know that their principal means one who is both strong and kind. The

motto is embodied in the school crest. The Kashmiri paddles stand for hard work or strength, the heart-shaped blade for kindness. The paddles are crossed, which stands for self-sacrifice, and reminds men of Him who made the cross significant.

III

In this school at Srinagar much of the possible social service on the part of the pupils is naturally connected with the great river which forms the main artery of the city, and from which little canals branch off into various parts, making a veritable Venice of Kashmir's capital. Notwithstanding the part played by water in their communications, few except actual boat people learn to swim, for such skill is considered derogatory to a gentleman's character. Hence in the past people have drowned

every year while no one tried to save them, for few of the onlookers would be able to swim, nor would they be likely to have the pluck. Mr. Biscoe, therefore, early began to teach the boys to swim. In the summer every boy has to go in daily with his class, the swimmers being told off to help the non-swimmers. Two or three hundred boys are in the water at the same time. In this way over two hundred boys are taught to swim each year, and six thousand swimmers have been turned out of the mission schools. It means hard, dogged perseverance right through the summer, often against the wishes of the parents, so that it is both a physical and a moral struggle. In order still further to encourage swimming, a non-swimmer over thirteen must pay quarter fees extra; over fourteen, half fees extra; over fifteen, double fees. When this rule was first made over one hundred boys were withdrawn.

When Mr. Biscoe went to the school thirty years ago, a boy who could swim across the river in front of the school, a distance of seventy yards, was pointed out as a prodigy. Now this is the swimming test for every thirteen-year-old. Every year there is a big swim across the Dal lake, a distance of three and a half miles. Hundreds have accomplished this feat, one hundred and forty, for example, starting at a single time, and as many as a hundred finishing. They also swim the Wular lake, which is five to six miles wide. This was originally intended to destroy a great dread of evil spirits in this lake, which caused people in an emergency to drown without a kick. Many boys have accomplished the long-distance effort, a recent record being twenty-two finishing out of the thirty starting. The reason for all this activity in swimming is that life may be saved, and the log-book of the school

afternoon on the Dal lake, with its exquisite reflections of encircling mountains. The significant thing about this is that Brahman students will do this even for Mohammedan patients, in spite of the taunts and jeers of their co-religionists.

This plan of arranging outings for patients has been going on for so many years that it has become a time-honoured institution of the school. It is the way the boys have been led to thank God for their health and strength, and, above all, for having given them the moral strength to break away from the prejudices of their forefathers in the matter of doing common boatmen's work and of defiling their hands by touching sick folk of another religion. By this plan from 200 to 400 patients are taken out each year. It means a tramp or paddle of two or three miles from their homes to the hospital, then a trip on the lake, and again the tramp home, so that their work of mercy takes them several hours. The boys sometimes treat their passengers to tea, and often in the summer evening you may find a boat-load of sick joining in the boys' songs as they paddle citywards.

Another way in which the boys use their boating knowledge is by recovering boats that get loose and float away down the stream. The ordinary Kashmiri would sit and watch such a boat go out of sight. On regatta afternoons the school makes a practice of turning over their boats at a given signal. Within twenty seconds the boys have righted them and are bailing them out. This teaches them to keep their heads in real accidents which occasionally happen in these mountain lakes. During the cholera scourge the school often plans to lessen the tension of the community by racing five boats abreast and having a spectacular upset.

Opposite the school boat-house, in the fairway of the stream which is used daily by numberless boats, there were treacherous rocks just beneath the surface of the water. These had caused splits in planks at the bottom of many a boat plying to and fro. There was one specially ugly rock which no one had thought of shifting, as it had always been there. But the mission school conceived a plan for removing the encumbrance. They first applied for help to the boatmen who lived around and who were the chief sufferers therefrom, but they took up the usual attitude : Had it not always been there ? How could it be got at ? And finally, was it not God's will ? With crowbars and ropes the boys set to work, and kept at it until they had landed the rock in a spot where it now acts as a useful landing-stage. Henceforth it stands as a reminder that rocks can be shifted—a parable to a people bound by *dastur* or custom.

In this city, overrun periodically by dirt-borne diseases, one of the hardest and most prolonged struggles is for cleanliness. Every morning the boys assemble in the hall for roll-call, prayer, the singing of a psalm or hymn of praise, and then they march out of the hall double quick to the music of the band. In their class-rooms they line up before their respective masters to be inspected for cleanliness of body and clothes. Mr. Biscoe commenced his campaign by picking out the worst cases and throwing them into the river in front of the school. After a few years the standard of cleanliness rose, and instead of this rather drastic method, a scrubbing-brush, carbolic soap, and a bath were substituted. If it were a bad case, the washing or soaping was done in public. A reward to the cleanest and a fine to the filthiest helped things on. Again the standard of cleanliness went up. Now a third stage

has been reached, and if the manager discovers a dirty boy after a master has passed him as clean, the master is fined a rupee.

It is a harder task to get clean clothes. A *dhobi* (washerman's) day has been instituted every week, when boys whose clothes have not passed the test are marched down to the river to clean up. As the people look down upon *dhobi*-work, these students get a great deal of ridicule, and are often able to persuade their parents to provide cleaner clothes the next time. The boys in the kindergarten are regularly taught how to wash clothes.

Where the pupils need so much attention, it may be taken for granted that the city has needed all sorts of work along sanitary lines. And this obligation extending beyond the class-room has been seen by Mr. Biscoe more clearly than by most principals.

' If I see boys coming to school continuing dirty in body, diseased in skin, and with pale and unhealthy-looking faces, and slack demeanour, I consider it my duty to go into the matter. Of course we can clean their skins of dirt in school and give them sulphur ointment and other medicines for their diseases. But this must be repeated over and over again, because we have not got to the root of the disease, which is in their unhealthy and unsanitary conditions of life. Are we to say, " This has nothing to do with us. We can only look after your brains and care nothing for your bodies. You can do what you like and live as you please in your homes, so long as you behave yourself during school hours " ? '

Masters and boys have shouldered picks and shovels and cleaned up streets and premises in order to help ward off a cholera outbreak. In one of the worst the mission schools tried to take their share in fighting the disease by keeping the central and four branch schools

open (all the other schools in the city were closed). Boys and masters were on duty all night as well as all day, with a good supply of medicine, so that those attacked could send for aid at all times and receive prompt attention, which, of course, is of the greatest importance in cholera. Boys with cycles became dispatch riders. The schools, with the assistance of the lady doctor of the mission, saved 73 lives out of the 103 that they attended, which was an exceptionally good average. During a recent attack of cholera, 11,516 died out of 17,342 cases, while only three schoolboys died out of the sixty cases treated by the masters. They were able to attend to 290 cases outside the school.

The poverty of the people gives another outlet for service. Every winter the boys help by cutting up firewood for those who are too poor to pay for wood-cutters, and for those houses where there are only women. There was a time when the boys were aghast when this idea was suggested to them. Each class has a list of poor boys whose fees are paid by the class. As long ago as 1894 a Waif and Stray Society was started to help homeless children who wandered about the streets begging throughout the year, and to teach the boys that it is more blessed to give than to receive. In order to get money to carry on this work, boys have undertaken to unload barges as day labourers, and have even done work as coolies. In one year gangs of from ten to fifty boys worked on twenty-five occasions to earn money for the poor fund. In another year sixty different parties thus worked. The kind of situation met by this society may be judged from the case of a widow who had two sons, aged ten and fourteen. Her only income was two rupees a month, which she earned by spinning. The

society's committee advised her to send one son to the silk factory to earn enough to keep the family in food, and they themselves took over the brighter boy, paid his school fees, and clothed him. In a few years they hope he will get a fairly good place, and so be a help to the family.

Pervading social customs give a chance to change standards. One can see on every side in Srinagar women carrying large earthen water-pots, which they fill, and then with considerable straining lift the full vessel to their bended knees, and from there hoist it on to their shoulders or heads. Men will stand close by, but never will you see one offer to help a woman. It is not *dastur*, and it would take a good deal of moral courage for any boy to break away from this custom. However, hosts of cases of schoolboys rendering this aid to women have now been recorded. Another custom they are fighting is that of early marriage. As one way of discouraging early marriage, double fees are charged to any boy who marries before the age of eighteen. In order to develop chivalry toward women, there is a Knights Errant Society, whose members, besides pledging themselves to do all in their power against child-marriage, try in other ways to protect women. Kindness is shown to animals as well, as many as 150 instances of prevention of cruelty to animals being recorded in a single year—a boy saving a goat from a burning house, another saving a donkey from drowning, etc.

Fires have been a great menace in Srinagar. The houses are made of wood, and fires are frequently started from a custom the people have of carrying fire-pots under their garments to keep them warm, even going to sleep with these pots under their covers. Through the years

the boys have been led to help in scores of fires involving from one to one hundred houses. Mr. Biscoe likes to tell about the first time their school broke up for social service. It was thirty years ago. A trumpet note was heard, which all knew meant that a house was ablaze. Mr. Biscoe had thirty or forty of his oldest boys lay aside their books, armed them with single-sticks, and headed them to the fire. The only occupants of the burning house were women. One of them, an old woman, stood imploring the ring of spectators to help her. But they continued to squat at a distance shading their eyes from the heat. To show her agony, the old woman took hold of her garment and rent it down the centre. As they took no notice, she put both hands to her head and tore out two large tufts of hair, which she held out toward the men to melt their hearts. She then said, 'I will give you *money* for every pot of water you will bring.' 'How much?' 'So much.' But not until the price was doubled did they begin to stir.

Mr. Biscoe's boys secured a set of pots and formed a line from the river to the house, while the crowd jeered and stared at them. On some of these onlookers single-sticks were used to make them fall in and help. Sticks had to be used also to protect the property from being stolen. Finally the fire was conquered, and the boys, pretty well tired out, soaking with water, and covered with grime, gradually found their way home, where some were chastised for bringing dishonour on self-respecting families. They had, however, learned a better lesson than could have been learned that day from books.

The boys and masters find opportunities of helping the Government authorities in times of public need. Once, when the census was being taken, the people

imagined that it was in order that a new income-tax might be levied upon them. They supposed that the larger the households, the heavier would be the tax. The officer in charge asked for help, which was gladly given. One hundred masters and boys were placed at his disposal, and they gave their time ungrudgingly without pay.

During the profiteering of recent years, some of the men on school force were sent up and down the river for many miles searching for boats of rice and fuel which were hiding in quiet places while waiting for a rise in prices in the city. Others went into the villages to discover those who were hoarding rice, and also those who were smuggling it out of the country, for the law forbids the export of rice. They returned with information which proved useful to the authorities. During the rice shortage two years ago, when the city was rationed, the whole staff unstintingly gave their services for the control of the distribution, while several boys gave two or three months of their time in assisting the officials.

In the school hall are four honour boards, which help to stimulate in the pupils' hearts a desire to do plucky and noble deeds. One is painted in blue lettering, for those who have distinguished themselves for courage, skill, and endurance, such as those who have swum across the dreaded Wular lake. A second is painted in red lettering for the winners of medals—the two head boys of the school each year. A third is painted in white and gold for those who have risked their lives for others. On this board are sixteen names. Only those who have at great risk saved life are thus honoured. The fourth is painted in gold. It is intended for those who have given

their lives for others. Up till 1917 there was only one name on this board—one who died saving his brother from drowning. The names of three old boys who gave their lives for the Empire are now on the board.

The central school and each of its five branch schools keep a citizenship book, in which are recorded authenticated deeds of social service. In the winter months you will find great numbers of cases of shovelling the snow off the roofs of houses and clearing paths in the roads. All through the year are records of boys who have offered themselves as willing coolies for the old or infirm, carrying water, wood, rice, charcoal, grass, and cow-dung for those who need help. Thirty-three such instances were recorded in one year. The school record for the same year shows forty-five cases of cutting firewood for the aged, leading the blind, finding lost children, or saving children from harm. One of the boys caught a thief red-handed, secured the stolen property, and returned it.

Many of the school activities have a definite outward look. They aim in all their sports to impress upon the boys that athletics are only a means to an end, and that end is not the winning of prizes, or honours for themselves, but the making of muscle and increased strength for the sake of their weaker neighbours. The school band exists not alone for their own pleasure, but for the patients when they are taken out in the boats on the lake, and for musical entertainments at the hospital and leper asylum.

Boxing was early introduced. It was no easy matter, for the boys had strong caste prejudice against gloves made out of leather. However, for years it has been a daily exercise. Mr. Biscoe describes the evolution of the boys' attitude toward this sport as follows:—

' When we started the boys were afraid to hit one another for fear of the return blow, and if one received a nasty one, he would bellow like a calf and run away, and if by chance the claret were tapped, every one would become frightened. Then as they began to exchange blows they became savage, and would hit to do damage. They would try to knock their opponent on the ground, kneel on his chest, and smite his head, fighting like starlings; sometimes they would throw off their gloves and go after each other with their nails.

' When they had learned to fight only when their adversary was on his feet, they would try to draw blood and gloat over it, and receive the applause of the ring. The stronger was always backed up by the onlookers, the weaker laughed at and condemned — thumbs down. We have now reached the sporting stage where skill and agility is praised, and public opinion sides with the smaller and weaker one.'

It is plain that it is a muscular type of Christianity that is set before these boys, and masters and boys are encouraged to use their skill when needed. Things do not always end successfully, however. One of them tried to get two men off the back of a small donkey, and was thoroughly thrashed for his pains. But it is well known that the mission school can at a moment's notice turn out a squad who can hit straight. In fact, they have in each school maps of the city on which are marked ' Cities of Refuge,' to which small boys can run when attacked and call upon defenders and avengers.

In all this social work it is the staff who set the example. Whether it is doing coolie work, carrying stones and bricks, boat ambulance work, saving animals, or sanitation, teachers lead the way. Every week the staff meets to discuss the social problems of the city. They report what they have been able to *accomplish*, and no one is expected to open his mouth until he has done something.

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Most of the staff of sixty are old boys, and hence thoroughly understand the working of the school. So important does Mr. Biscoe regard friendly relations amongst his staff, that it is his habit before appointing a new teacher to consult the ones with whom the candidate will be associated as to whether they will probably work happily together. In case of punishment or dismissal the matter is brought before his staff. He feels that punishment comes with greater force if it proceeds from the whole staff rather than from an individual. Mr. Biscoe meets with his staff every Sunday afternoon to talk over things that will help their moral and spiritual life.

IV

At the very heart of all this effort at making citizens is virile religion. Jesus' way of living is made as practical as possible, not a new religion to be added to the many, but as a life to be lived right there in Kashmir, in the home and school and streets of that dirty city. Mr. Biscoe thinks that it is of little use to teach Scripture day by day in class if it ends there. To be of use it must be practical, and the teachers must show that it is practical. He feels a teacher is a useless log who only says, Do this, do that, and do the other thing. He must be able to say, Come on. He must put into practice his teaching out of school hours with his students, showing them how it is done on the play-fields, in the water, or amid the distress, sickness, and sin of their city's lanes. It is when his teachers have taken their pupils into the houses of the sick to relieve, or to the distressed to succour, or against scoundrels to chastise, that they come

back to the Scripture lesson the next day with power. In such ways the life of Jesus is being placed before these boys as a possible way of living, and they are encouraged to begin that life while still in school.

V

Turning to the other extreme of India we find embodied in Trinity College, Kandy, some of the finest elements of an English public school. For one thing, 'T.C.K.' unlike the institution at Srinagar, is a boarding school. Moreover, its staff has a profound belief in the value of sports, and an atmosphere of strenuous physical life pervades the place. One of their avowed ideals is to develop physical hardness in every pupil, so that he may be able to endure fatigue and pain and to persevere in spite of them. In a land whose climate tends to softness and easy standards, this gospel of hardness, to keep going when one desires to stop, to endure for the sake of the end, has a significance which can hardly be appreciated by those who do not know the East. India's easy-going natural gifts need to be supplemented by those manly virtues which wholesome sports do so much to develop. Good class-work is, of course, valued, but not as a fetish. If it comes from concentration of mind in a given time, well; if from memorizing and becoming a bookworm, it is scorned.

Boxing was introduced by Trinity seven years ago, and now Ceylon has an annual school boxing tournament. It was magnificent to see the alertness, stamina, and control which was being developed in the boys through this sport. They could smile though their lips were bleeding. Eastern dispositions do not take readily to Rugby football, seeming to prefer the less rough games of soccer and hockey.

But Trinity has introduced Rugger, and in popularity it stands next to cricket, although only one other school in Ceylon has taken it up. At the beginning of the present régime sixteen years ago, the matter of broken bones was found to be serious. Five or six cases were occurring every term. This accident rate was abnormal, and the principal set out to find the reason. It was discovered that the school's water supply contained no lime. So a tank was made, from which all the school water was to be taken. It was, of course, some trouble and expense to put lime in regularly, but it reduced the number of broken bones, and enabled the school to go on making boys hard.

Trinity has shown its belief in games by investing seventy thousand rupees in scooping out an athletic field from one of the Kandyan hills. It has also a full-time European—often a soldier—in charge of this department. All the boys get out on the field, where proper training is emphasized and unfair play is taboo. For less strenuous activities there are hand-ball, basket-ball, rifle shooting, swimming, fives, cricket, and the usual field sports, with frequent runs, tramps, and outings for the whole school.

Trinity has a cadet corps, and as one watches the decided snap and alert precision of their drill, one is not surprised to learn that this corps has won distinction in the island for marching, physical exercises, and shooting. Strict discipline, scrupulous attention to details, promptness in action, straight and immediate answering of questions, unselfishness in maintaining the general standard—these are some of the by-products of the corps, which justify its place in the general scheme of making men.

If one is being shown about the campus of Trinity College, one is sure to be taken to the room used as the

headquarters of the scouts. In the hobbies corner will be found an ambulance case made by the carpenter scouts to serve as a model for first-aid work. Under able leadership the scout movement is here developing its usual fine qualities--a spirit of self-reliance and resourcefulness, contact with the practical side of life, ability to use to the fullest extent the means at hand, and the true qualities of a gentleman.

In two notable ways the physical hardness of Trinity boys has been brought to the test. In 1914, in order to demonstrate to the Government that the Ceylonese could bear the strain of war and therefore should be enlisted, volunteers undertook to walk from Kandy to Colombo, a distance of seventy-two miles, in thirty-six hours. For a month the boys trained—a half-hour drill in the morning before six, and from five to ten miles' marching in the evening. And then, with boots well oiled, and socks soaped, the contingent of twenty-eight marched off to the tune of 'Tipperary' by the school fife and drum. Thirty-six miles were covered the first night, leaving thirty-six more to be done in the next twenty-four hours. After each successive pause for food, or baths, or a bit of sleep, only grim determination could make arms and legs swing on again towards the end. Nevertheless only two dropped out from exhaustion, five from defective boots, leaving twenty-one for the finish. The first night, at about nine-thirty—the hour when the boys back at the school would be having prayers—a halt was called, and the principal offered prayer out under the silent stars of the dim mountain path. He prayed that their enterprise might count for the glory of God and the advancement of His Kingdom among men.

After the war the first notable war trophy to reach

Ceylon found shelter on the campus of Trinity. A brass tablet in the sheltering pavilion reads thus :—

CAPTURED GERMAN MACHINE-GUN
 PRESENTED TO
 TRINITY COLLEGE
 BY
 HIS MAJESTY THE KING
 AT THE
 CONCLUSION OF THE GREAT WAR (1914-1919),
 IN WHICH 65 MEMBERS OF THIS COLLEGE SERVED
 AND 13 GAVE THEIR LIVES.

A few months after the long march from Kandy to Colombo the stamina of the school was exhibited in an unexpected way. Riots had broken out between the Singhalese Buddhists and the Mohammedans. Mutual grievances were ancient and bitter. The police were no longer able to keep control. The principal called for volunteers. A visitor described what followed :—

‘ Young boys, ten to fifteen years of age, going to sentry duty in the early evening, certain that before morning a determined and murderous attack would be made upon their school, frightened but with the coolness and determination of veteran soldiers ; the same boys holding their posts faithfully and with effective vigilance through the long hours of the night, their older school-mates—a body of them only thirty-six in number and without weapons of any sort—protecting life and property from an infuriated mob well armed with clubs, iron bars, and knives ; the same boys marching all night through the streets of a city harassed with riots and plots, doing all that men could do to restore peace and order ; all this not for a day only, nor for two, but for a month. This is what I have seen.’

VI

It must already be manifest that the spirit of this school is not self-centred. It does not boast of its buildings,

its victories, or its prizes. Trinity is afraid of a spirit which does not include the interests of other citizens, nor would she pride herself upon accomplishment within her own walls alone. The principal consciously aims at an *esprit de corps* created by deeds done for the crowd outside.

This aim, naturally, shows itself in the school organization. For example, day pupils are welcomed to the extent of about half the total number. They are the connecting link with the community. Care spent on the day pupils, on their games, on visits to their parents and homes, in supervision of the conditions under which they do home-work, has not only awakened the enthusiasm of the day pupils for the school, but has given to the school a knowledge of the town, its need, and its power to help. For the same reason the principal is glad to include Hindus, Mohammedans, and Buddhists in the student body. It is with these the Christians must live later. Why not now? It is considered important that the school should look out on the whole community, not simply the Christian section of it.

It might seem an obvious educational principle that children should have all their elementary instruction in their own vernacular. But the Government had made English the medium of instruction. Trinity held that this resulted in a faulty and superficial grasp of the subjects on the part of the pupils. Moreover, it tended to thwart one of the main aims of the school, since men who are isolated from the masses of their own people by ignorance of their language and thought can never fulfil the part of educated citizens, or be true leaders of their race. It was a tremendous fight, both with the Government and with the parents, to push through this reform

in the medium of instruction. Even the textbooks had to be created. But ten years ago the Government, convinced of the fine work of the school, gave them complete liberty of choice as to curriculum from the lowest class upward, and still continued their grant-in-aid. This was the first time such a privilege had been granted to any Ceylon institution. This triumph for the vernaculars did not mean, however, that English was slighted. At one time every class in English was taught by a European. In many classes the instruction would be bilingual, the same part of the same subject being taught in the vernacular and in English on the same day. Great freedom in the use of English was aimed at, and ability to translate into the vernacular was much emphasized, since the new ideals must come through the medium of English, but must be passed on to their people in the mother tongue.

With the same idea of linking the boys to their communities, prizes were taken off mathematics, and such class subjects, and were put on essays requiring village research. One year prizes went to the best collection of proverbs, another to folk-lore and local customs. The motive was not simply antiquarian. The main significance of such inquiries for this school was that it necessitated a contact between those imbibing the new thoughts and those who knew only the old. The boys found that there was a great deal in the villages that they must dig out if they were to get the fifty-rupee prize. They had to sit at the feet of their grandparents to get this information. This attitude was a benefit to both parties, and promoted sympathy and mutual understanding.

Occasional visits to places of historical interest, school buildings,

also planned, and an effort was made to interest pupils in the country games. Many of these boys were to become landlords and country magnates. Such knowledge and interest in rural sports would put them in touch with the villagers. Furthermore, in vacation times the boys were encouraged to take their own footballs and cricket material with them to their homes and introduce the games in their villages.

VII

Important as are the class-room, the playing-field, and the dormitory in the education of pupils, Trinity would place first the development that comes from community service. The school has an atmosphere which is full of opportunities for the development of the capacity to serve. Once a count was made, and it was found that all except one boy in the school were doing something in the way of social service.

One of their early forms of social work was the starting of demonstration farms. They would go to a farmer and ask for the use of a plot of land. They promised that, if the crop they raised was not as good as the farmer's, they would make up the difference in cash. If, on the other hand, their crop was better, he should get all the benefit. The farmer could lose nothing. So the boys took up the work in relays, and as the farms were close enough to the school, they cycled out for their work. The experiment was never repeated more than two or three years on any one farm. In this way forty or fifty demonstrations were made.

A fruitful piece of social work was the economic survey of Kancy, resulting in a map showing social facts of

housing and sanitation so clearly that it attracted much public attention. The municipality voted Rs.20,000 for housing reforms, and a Colombo legislator who had come to Kandy in connection with drafting a Bill on housing for Colombo, publicly congratulated the boys of Trinity as 'making the laws of their country while still in school.'

In a recent widespread rice shortage the Government bought great quantities of rice to be sold to the needy by ticket. The Trinity Social Service Union volunteered to help distribute the tickets, especially in the surrounding villages. This entailed tramping from house to house over paddy fields, up hill and down dale. It meant inquiries into the conditions of innumerable families and contact with many a sad case of hardship and destitution. Twenty booths were erected by the municipality for the sale of rice, and the boys were assigned the difficult task of keeping the unruly and eager crowds in their queues, and for a fortnight during the greatest stress they were entrusted with the administration and sale of the available rice in one large depot.

Opportunities for service are endless and constantly changing. Once when the village schools round about were in need of help in physical instruction, the principal excused any boy from the regular Saturday work who would cycle out to one of these schools and be responsible for their drill. In each case a lad would be trained to carry on in the absence of their young teacher, and as drill in Trinity is especially well done, even the Government school inspectors appreciated this extension work. Under the direction of local doctors, pupils were told off to visit certain of the poorer and more ignorant patients, to see that they took their medicines properly. Boys were

trained at the Kandy dispensaries in simple compounding. They were given the silver and boric solutions for eyes, taught to differentiate the various kinds of sores, and certain ones learned how to vaccinate. The pauper wards in the hospital would be visited with pictures, sweets, or a lantern lecture, as the situation permitted ; wandering street boys would be organized into patrols, with their own colours and games ; a week during term would be given to a tour with a lantern lecture, or the first fortnight of vacation would be used by certain masters for visits to villages in a backward part of Ceylon. A small shed near the college is used for a night school.

The Union for Social Service was organized in 1910. They have borrowed the patrol idea from the scouts, and have divided their members into five squads, each including a member of the staff. Recently the patrol designations were changed from Nos. 1, 2, etc., to the names of great social workers, such as Gandhi, Livingstone, and Shaftesbury. The patrols undertake to inspect the lanes and alleys of the town, visit the hospital, and be on duty at specified times at two dispensaries which the school has opened. On alternate Fridays business meetings are held, where reports are read of work done by each patrol, bills are passed, and sums of money voted for social service work. Following these meetings, they go out for practical work.

In 1919 a new scheme of training was introduced, providing for three classes, each having a certificate. The following is their syllabus : 3rd Class.—Treatment of simple ailments ; visiting ; simple hygiene. 2nd Class.—Mixing of simple medicines ; first aid ; a simple lecture on temperance ; superintending games. 1st Class.—Some original work on some selected social problem ; nursing

and treatment of enteric, dysentery, malaria, and influenza; a general paper on social problems in Ceylon; lecturing in the vernacular; and any two of the following three: night school teaching, scout training, or drilling. When the boys begin their work, they do not, of course, understand the full significance of this community work. But each term they are penetrating deeper into the meaning and the joys of social service.

VIII

Masters at Trinity aim to share with their boys the fullest life they know, whether it is physical, mental, or spiritual. They believe that the strongest instrument in education is personality. There is frank, fearless witness to Jesus Christ on the part of the staff. The principal tells the non-Christian parents frankly that the best thing he has for the boys is the friendship of Jesus. If they do not want that, let them not send their boys to him. Fortunately there is a big waiting list, thus facilitating independence.

It might strike some as strange that the non-Christian religions are taught in this school by leaders of these faiths. The principal has a conviction that the underlying thought of the old faiths should be taught from a sympathetic and fully appreciative standpoint. He feels that it is important, especially for Christians, that they should know the old faiths at their best. Their Christianity should develop alongside the thought of their own country. Sooner or later they are sure to meet the objections to Christianity which are common among the priests of non-Christian faiths. Should these objections not arise in their minds whilst they are still in a Christian environ-

ment, they are sure, he feels, to do so after they are alone and out of reach of those who might help them. He believes, moreover, that it brings them into touch with the thought-habits of their own people.

The attainment of their high religious purpose is not left to chance. Conditions tending to secure it have been thought out and met. It has long been the practice for the masters to meet for one or two days of quiet and prayer before each term. This gives each member of the staff a chance to grasp the ideal and to aim for it. Still more exceptional, as mission schools go, is the way the staff gets together each day for ten minutes of prayer, and then, united in purpose, goes into the school for the day's work.

The boys, after rising in the morning, spend a few minutes in breathing exercises, and between these and class preparation there is a period of ten minutes' quiet, which is intended for private devotion. Boys are not compelled to spend the time in devotion, but the greater number choose to do so. At eight o'clock masters and boys assemble in the hall, where school opens with the singing of a hymn, prayer, and usually a short address. Later comes the Bible period. If you should pass through the quadrangle about nine-thirty any evening you might hear three or four hymns coming from the various dormitories where masters or Christian prefects are leading the evening prayers, each drawing his house together and strengthening the spirit of house unity and fellowship.

On Sunday morning there is a service of Holy Communion; then Sunday school, which all must attend; followed an hour later by short services in Sinhalese, Tamil, and English, each boy attending the one according

to his vernacular. Twelve of the senior Christian pupils are given the privilege and responsibility of teaching in the vernacular and in English the younger boys in classes of four, having previously met with the principal for preparation. On Sunday evening, after dinner, there is always something on. Often it is of a lighter vein. They may assemble for a lecture, for reading, or for hymns chosen by themselves. They may invade the principal's house and be taken into the family. Or, that they may not get to feel that 'God dwelleth alone in houses made with hands,' they may meet out under the stars in the great hill amphitheatre of the athletic field.

The pivotal service of the week is the six o'clock Sunday chapel, attended by all except the youngest boys. Into this the principal throws his best life. The singing of hymns from the special collection made by Trinity, the reverent pausing of the prefects at the table as they present the offering, the final committal to God's gracious mercy and protection, are most impressive.

IX

Trinity stands for the principle of concentration in mission work. They turn away three out of every four who apply for admission because they could not bring the same influence to bear upon the larger number. Years ago the school was cut down from 650 to 500, and has been kept to that number since. Moreover, for those who are admitted there is concentration of aim. The bookwork, religious teaching, sports, and social service all tend to the same end, the turning out of Christian citizens and workers. Before the war eight of the thirty

masters were Europeans and all the masters were Christians.

Trinity attaches the utmost value to the boarding system. The boarders quickly take their tone from the staff and the school tradition, and make a forceful nucleus for the formation of public opinion within the school. They come to learn the meaning of a corporate life, that each has his part to contribute to the life of his house and the life of the school, and that he is expected to give his best. The masters know perfectly well, however, that if factors of the highest value in the development of character are to be introduced through the boarding system, it must be carefully organized and carefully supervised. The principal believes that in the control of the dormitories it is well to have both Western and Eastern masters working together. If one has more initiative and enthusiasm, the other has more patience, more local knowledge, and more common sense. The day boys have been formed into a 'house' like the various dormitories, and like them have fought for their cricket and football shields.

In 1906 a very definite share of the responsibility for the moral tone of the college was thrown upon the boys themselves and their prefects. It seems strange that the principle Arnold demonstrated so thoroughly years ago should still be so little appropriated in mission schools. In many of them no organization of the character and leadership of the older boys is attempted. The schools are starving on the feeble resources of a single man. On the other hand, Trinity's system of prefects develops initiative and responsibility. They approach the principal as a body to suggest a new class-room, or an improvement in existing buildings, or a circular letter to

parents on some topic of importance, or some new rule for the school, and many of their suggestions have been adopted.

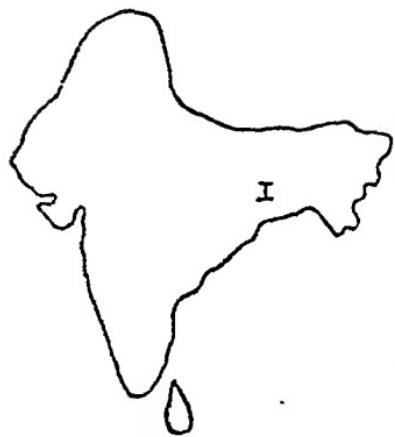
An exceedingly valuable contribution to the life of Trinity is that made by the wives of the masters. Some of them have, at times, taught in the school, and most acceptably too. But it is when they receive the boys in their homes that their influence counts for most. The principal has some boys or masters in to breakfast or tiffin nearly every day, and other homes are open in much the same way. If a team is making an early start, one of the ladies will serve 'morning tea.' All this makes for happiness and understanding, and one gets the distinct impression that old boys are remembered and their records eagerly followed.

For twelve years the writer has been receiving the confidential printed letters to the friends and supporters of this school. One of the secrets of Trinity's success is found in them. Through them there breathes a belief in the power of prayer, and the enlisting of friends in every emergency. 'I asked some of you specially to pray for this unity and enthusiasm amongst us. I have also set aside, for some months now, an hour a day for prayer for the staff and prefects. And the answer has been given in full measure to our united prayers.' 'Many of you who read this report have been often in prayer for us. You have received leaflets with requests for prayer from time to time. And you have considered these and prayed for us. There is certainly here in our work a life energy greater than our own. The small push one gives has often a mighty momentum behind it, the life from beyond and above presses through.'

CHAPTER X

THE SCHOOL OF SIR RABINDRA NATH TAGORE

I



ONE hundred miles from Calcutta is a village called Bolpur; and two miles from the village, out where the sweep of view across the Bengal plains is almost unobstructed, is Rabindra Nath Tagore's school for boys. The stimulating breadth of the horizon, the flood of sunshine with shimmering lights and wonderful

shades, the limitless expanse of the stars at night encircling one with the silence of the world beyond—these considerations determined the location of the school, and caused the great poet to call it Shantiniketan—the Abode of Peace.

There are about 150 pupils in the school, of whom fifteen are girls, the daughters of teachers and others living near. In age the boys range from six to eighteen years, but no boy is taken in over twelve years of age; so all of the older boys have been in the school for a considerable time. During examinations the boys are without supervision, being put upon their honour, and

the system is said to work well. To a very large extent the boys make their own rules, elect their own judges, and all minor offences are handled by boys' courts. No resort is made to corporal punishment. The penalty may be extra work in cleaning rooms for other boys. Or it may be in the nature of ostracism—having to eat apart, to stay outside one's school class, or even to refrain from talking with other boys. Experience shows that a judge must be over thirteen years of age, and must have been in the school at least three years.¹ No one would attempt to say that the boys always decide wisely. But they are growing in the process, and if any boy is not satisfied he may appeal—something rarely done.

Tagore believes that there has been too much imitation of the West in the development of the present system of education in India. For example, India has taken over the English word 'university,' but Tagore feels that it is quite wrong for them to hold the picture of Oxford or Cambridge when the word is spoken, as if India's educational salvation lay in selecting and patching together the best points in these universities. Too often, also, it is merely the external characteristics that attract attention—buildings, furniture, regulations, and syllabuses rather than the essential spirit of their society, literature, and the numerous activities of a rich corporate life.

In contrast with this imitative spirit, the poet asserts that only that education is true which acknowledges the mind to be a living thing, and therefore stimulates it to give out more in quality and quantity than is imparted to it from the outside.² Consistently with this theory he

¹ A well-known American experiment in student self-government is described in *The George Junior Republic* (Appleton, \$1.50, 1909).

² Bombay address, April 16, 1920.

has encouraged in his school the spontaneous expression of each lad's spirit in song and poem. He assumes that it is a perfectly normal thing for them to be producing and bringing to him their efforts without hesitation or formality. The boys have several manuscript school magazines, in which they are encouraged to think and write for themselves, and for which illustrations are handed in. The poet takes a great interest in these, and often will suggest lines for improvement.

Modern education in India has seemed to him like a carriage to a horse, the dragging of which merely serves to provide it with food and shelter in the stable of its master.¹ He would say that one great reason why Indian education has been utilitarian, and has resulted in imitation rather than creation, is because students are compelled to learn through the medium of English. This is a much discussed point, concerning which both Indians and Europeans differ among themselves. No one would deny that in theory the mother tongue is the best medium for instruction, but many feel that when all the conditions of India are taken into consideration, English should be used, since the English language and literature supplement India's national culture at the weakest points. Moreover, it provides the best medium of inter-provincial communication, and it gives the widest and readiest access to the 'warm waters of international life.'² Tagore, however, believes that all that is valuable could be obtained merely from the study of English as a second language. But since no college would be open to his boys if they had been educated only in the vernacular, English is used as the

¹ Bombay address, April 16, 1920.

² See criticism of Tagore's position in *The Indian Social Reformer*, April 25, 1920, p. 542.

medium of instruction in the two highest classes, and is taught as a second language by the direct method from the lowest class.

The staff consists of twenty-two teachers, so that on the average there is one teacher for every eight pupils. There is no permanent head master, the school being controlled by a council of masters, of whom one is annually elected to be the executive head and to be responsible for its management. To this staff Tagore gives himself without stint. Every evening a great, deep-toned bell sounds out from his veranda inviting the members of the staff and their wives to his simple bungalow. All seat themselves on the floor. A single lamp on a low table in front of the poet suffices to light up the pages of some great masterpiece chosen for the evening's reading. It may be from Whitman, Browning, Shelley, or Edmund Holmes. After being read in English, it is translated, section by section, into Bengali verse, keeping in a wonderful way most of the rhythm and the beauty. After the poem has been re-read as a whole, a discussion, full of good humour and marked by informality, takes place. It is noteworthy that these readings come not once a week, but every evening. Thus the staff is kept mentally alert, drawn together, and permitted to share the poet's ideals and inspirations.

The ideal of social service receives a limited embodiment. One night school for aborigines and two for Bengali villagers are carried on by the boys. They gave the money for the digging of a deep well for a Santhal village near by. Some of the money was earned by manual labour on the part of the boys. Occasional fires in the villages give opportunities for rendering organized service, to which they gladly respond. Help is given to the surrounding villages

in time of epidemics. A co-operative store, under the management of the teachers, has been organized as an example for the boys, and it is hoped to extend its service to the people round about.

II

Nature is one of the great teachers in this school. This is what one would expect from one who writes that—

' In a little flower there is a living power hidden in beauty, which is more potent than a Maxim-gun. I believe that in the bird's notes Nature expresses herself with a force which is greater than that revealed in the deafening roar of the cannonade. I believe that there is an ideal hovering over the earth—an ideal of that Paradise which is not the mere outcome of imagination, but the ultimate reality towards which all things are moving. I believe that this vision of Paradise is to be seen in the sunlight, and the green of the earth, in the flowing streams, in the beauty of the spring-time, and the repose of a winter morning. Everywhere in this earth the spirit of Paradise is awake and sending forth its voice. We are deaf to its call; we forget it; but the voice of eternity wells up like a mighty organ and touches the inner core of our being with its music.'¹

He feels that it is India's mission to realize the truth of the human soul in the Supreme Soul through its union with the soul of the world; and that this mission urges them on to seek for the vision of the infinite in all forms of creation and in the human relationships of love; to feel it in the air we breathe, in the light in which we open our eyes, in the water in which we bathe, in the earth on which we live and die.²

¹ From an address delivered by Rabindra Nath Tagore before Japanese students in Tokyo.

² *Personality*, Rabindra Nath Tagore, p. 138.

in the soft Indian moonlight on the clean sweep of plains—all these find a ready response in every boy's heart.

To a Westerner the immediate grounds and buildings do not suggest beauty. There is no sign of the English emphasis on culture through architecture. Nor is there any special plan in the structures. But there is simplicity—in life, in clothes, in equipment. And we must remember that India regards simplicity of living as an essential element in all true education. Therefore, in his school, in spite of those who enjoy expensive habits, he had to provide for 'this great teacher—this bareness of furniture and materials—not because it is poverty, but because it leads to personal experience of the world.'¹ In starting the school some eighteen years ago, the deepest need for his people of which he was conscious was not an external nor material thing, not wealth nor comfort nor power, but the awakening of his people to full consciousness in soul freedom, the freedom of the life in God.²

III

Music is a second valued teacher in the school. In a room in the guest-house are kept India's great musical instruments for the use of the boys. Over in the temple is a large organ. Training in music is given by the poet's nephew. Rabindra Nath Tagore is himself a musical genius. Occasionally, as he walks through the groves, he becomes possessed by some new harmony. Lest these rare tunes be forgotten and lost, the nephew is alert to catch and record them. Hundreds of tunes have thus been kept for the school. On rainy days, or when the

¹ *Personality*, p. 122.

² Op. cit., p. 130.

moonlight streams through the trees above them, the boys, with a love of music so characteristic of India, like nothing better than to sing his lyrics. Often when the moon is full they will walk across the open country to some chosen spot with one of their teachers, and will sing late into the night, or listen to some story. Creative imagination is given free rein, and singing, dancing, theatricals, and amateur literary ventures are all encouraged.

IV

The dominant ideal underlying the school at Bolpur is that of education through sharing a life of high aspiration with one's master. This is a tradition that has come down through the centuries from the old forest colonies with their line of great teachers or *gurus*. One comes away from Bolpur feeling that appreciation of India's great conception of a guru has been deepened and enlarged. Certainly the most formative influence in the school is this rich personality. Through example and through personal association the spirit is caught and ideals are moulded.

The method of this master, apart from an address in the temple each Wednesday (their Sunday), is not conscious inculcation of religious teaching, not a process of outer discipline, but a dependence on the unseen atmosphere of aspiration that pervades the place.

' Religion is not a fractional thing that can be doled out in fixed weekly or daily measures as one among various subjects in the school syllabus. It is the truth of our complete being, the consciousness of our personal relationship with the infinite ; it is the true centre of gravity of our life. This we can attain during our childhood by living in a place where the truth of the spiritual

world is not obscured by a crowd of necessities assuming artificial importance; where life is simple, surrounded by fullness of leisure, by ample space and pure air and profound peace of nature; and where men live with a perfect faith in the eternal life before them.'¹

V.

Most impressive to any one interested in religious education are the morning and evening times of meditation. Before dawn, while earth's shadow still is deepest, a clear-toned bell awakens the eight score boys of the school. In the darkness they merrily run to the great well with its buckets and rope, and there each has his morning bath. Then, just as dawn is breaking, at another sound from the great bell the boys come out from their various dormitories with their little mats in their hands. One here and one there, in the open or under some tree, these boys sit down for meditation. For fifteen minutes these figures are almost motionless. Amongst the youngest might be one or two who are watching a bird or looking at the blossoms in the trees overhead. For they are not compelled to meditate, but only to remain quiet for this interval. It seems evident, however, that all the older boys have attained a mastery of themselves and are given up to meditation and to prayer. During that quarter of an hour the great red Indian sun comes up over the horizon, and in the presence of that glory they form a great circle and chant a common prayer.

This time of meditation is a mere incident in an atmosphere of contemplation. Not that these boys are not most normal little fellows. The series of goal-posts we see across the fields, the shouts that come from the

¹ *Personality*, p. 135.

dormitories, the kinds of boyish wrongs that are brought before their self-governing councils, the very bearing of the boys, alert and happy—all betoken natural, care-free boy life. Every student, however, knows the habit of his master. The poet rises at half-past three in the morning, and gives until six to prayer and to meditation. Every boy also knows that this spot was chosen years ago by the great poet's father as a place of retirement and of prayer. Beside them in the grove is a marble prayer-seat, put up to mark the spot where Maharshi Devandra Nath pitched his tent under three trees, and for weeks at a time would spend his days in quiet prayer. Over this seat one may read in Sanskrit the words which most characterized this man of God: 'He is the repose of my life, the joy of my heart, the peace of my spirit.'

Again at sundown the great bell tolls. The boys come from their games to get their little mats, and again they sit scattered for fifteen minutes in silence. Their shawls of saffron, yellow, pink, olive, red, blue, vermillion—so characteristic of Bengal, and which had brightened up the morning—can scarcely be distinguished as the rapidly gathering dusk encircles them. Before they rise the great expanse of stars is there above them, and in its ennobling presence the great circle again is formed, and they chant in Sanskrit the following prayer:—

'Thou art our Father. Make us conscious of this truth that thou art our Father. Let our salutation to thee be true. Save us from all hurts. Drive away all the sins from our hearts, and send to us all that is good. Thou art the source of all happiness, and thou art the source of our welfare. Thou thyself art blessedness.'

'Om-Shanti, Shanti, Shanti-Om.'

As the almost startling rhythm and intonation of that last line is still echoing in one's thoughts, the circle becomes a band of rollicking normal boys ready for the evening meal. It is this school tradition of meditation growing day by day into a habit—the habitual composure of the self in God's open doors at the beginning and the end of each day—that makes one turn down the avenue of *sal* trees to the guest-house with the deepened conviction that India at its best has for us of the West an emphasis that we need.

CHAPTER XI

EFFORTS TO EMBODY INDIAN IDEALS

I



In the previous chapter we dealt with a conscious effort to combine the best traditions of the old Hindu system with the healthiest aspects of modern methods. Assuredly one responsible for a share of India's education should keep an open mind toward certain Indian experiments. For this reason let us look at a school

founded by a society¹ which is aggressively antagonistic to the present official system of Western education in India. Its aim is to discover through practical experiment in selected schools the principles of a strong system of Indian education together with the best methods of their application. It does not feel that it is necessary to reject methods (as distinct from materials) found satisfactory in the most progressive of foreign countries but it aims to base its experiments upon true Indian life and ideals.² It does not, therefore, follow the Government code for schools.

¹ Society for the Promotion of National Education, Adyar, Madras

² Report of the Society for the Promotion of National Education, 1919
p. 1.

One of its schools—the National High School—is located in Madras.¹ At present there are sixteen teachers for about one hundred pupils, although they would be quite willing to have twenty pupils per teacher. Four of the staff belong to a teaching order, the Brothers of Service, and receive a subsistence allowance only.

One of the most marked external characteristics of the school is its emphasis on open air. There is a reaction here, as in not a few other places, against the great, expensive, permanent buildings heretofore so largely advocated by the official educational departments. From the pictures it will be seen that the weaving shed and carpenter's shop are thatched structures allowing plenty of air and light. (See Plate xiii.) The students live in a little 'village' of ten cottages arranged about a quadrangle about 150 by 75 feet. Special care has been taken to locate the village in the midst of shady trees in order to mitigate the heat of the Madras sun. Each cottage is the gift of some lover of Indian youth, but instead of the donor's name being placed upon it, it is named after one of the great saints or heroes of India, such as Akbar, Sivaji, Tuka Ram, or Shankaracharya. Each cottage consists of a thatched room, 25 by 12 feet, with a 4-foot veranda all around, and is intended to serve as a dormitory for six students. The room has a plinth 1 foot high, and its floor is of country tiles pointed with cement. The roof is made from coco-nut leaves, and there is an air space of 18 inches between the main and veranda roofs. The walls are of bamboo mat screens up to 6 feet, and then it will be noticed from the

¹ The National High School, Teynampet, Madras, soon to be removed to Adyar, Madras.

pictures that there is open bamboo *tatti* work for a height of 3 feet above this. The cottages cost about Rs.220 apiece. In front of each is a very pretty little garden which the boys plant and care for. The thatched cottages with their gardens and the surrounding grove make an attractive little village. (See Plate xiv.) The boys manage a village post-office, and have their own courts to administer minor discipline. On principle the clothes of the boys are kept Indian in style, the school uniform consisting of Indian shirts, *banyans*, *dhoties*, and *kurthas*.

The society's engineer is thoroughly convinced that an open building with a thatched roof, and a floor that can be kept dry and clean, is best for the conditions they must face. *Pukka* (permanent) buildings of the usual official pattern are required only for laboratories, libraries, kitchens, store-rooms, and other places where costly materials or apparatus are kept, or where the frequent use of fire or chemicals necessitates the provision of a less combustible roof. The initial cost of their less permanent buildings is about an eighth of that of *pukka* buildings intended for the same purpose. The posts and thatch have to be renewed every two years, but they estimate that this is not much more (after selling the old material for firewood) than the annual repairs (whitewashing, and the painting of wood and iron) for *pukka* buildings. In the case of class-rooms the end and partition walls are of brick, thus giving wall blackboard space. It is acknowledged that liability to fire is an objection to this type of building.

In connexion with the subject of open-air classes it may be of interest to note that a recent official report on phthisis in India calls favourable attention to a school

situated at Satyabadi in Bengal,¹ where all the classes for 340 boys are carried on in the open air, to the great satisfaction of teachers and pupils. The classes are held in a large grove of beautiful spreading trees, and are completely isolated from one another by thick shrubs, through which winding footpaths lead from class to class. The boys sit on rush mats on the ground, with their books on very low benches in front of them. It seems, therefore, to have been demonstrated that in several parts of India a high school can be efficiently conducted through the greater part of the year in the open air, provided it possesses a piece of land shaded by plenty of trees.

II

A second characteristic of the Madras school is a very definite ideal of sympathy and co-operation between the teacher and taught. This manifestly is influenced by the Indian conception of a guru mentioned in the previous chapter. It seems impossible to secure a complete staff which is ideal from this standpoint; but certainly in two unexpected visits to the school the relationship of the boys and principal seemed to be most intimate and natural. Methods of 'stern repression' and 'severe dealing' are discouraged. It is interesting to note that a further effort is made to draw out the finer side of the boys by the keeping of pets and gardens. Two deer have been promised to the school. The principal feels that while Indian boys are not cruel to animals, their fondness for them needs to be developed.

¹ The Satyabadi School, Sakhigopal (near Puri), Bengal-Nagpur

The school recognizes that in its endeavour to turn out patriotic and useful citizens its first care is to ensure healthy bodies. A resident physician takes the weight and height of each boy once a month, and gives a more complete examination every quarter. A few of the boys come from poor families, and effects of malnutrition have to be corrected. Games are played, and a scout troop has been formed; but one does not get the impression that any great emphasis is placed upon athletics. Manual training, gardening, and weaving, which form part of the regular time-table, afford variety in the day.

In arranging the time-table the principal says that he has followed the ancient and hygienic plan of having instruction from seven to ten in the morning, and from about three to dusk in the afternoon, including games and exercise. The day goes somewhat as follows: 5.30, elder boys get up; 5.30 to 6, younger boys get up; 6.30, bath, etc., all boys washing their own clothes either at this time or in the middle of the day, in conformity with the old Indian practice; 7, morning tiffin; 7 to 7.15, school roll-call and opening exercises, carried out in the open air except when raining. The opening exercises consist of roll-call, march to the meeting-place, religious songs, recitation of slokas and occasional addresses; 7.15 to 10, class-work; 10.15 to 10.45, wash up; 10.45 to 11.30, at ease; 11.30, midday meal; 11.30 to 2 is given over for rest, but at 12.30 or so some students go to the library, others play about in the shade of the trees, some go on with their weaving or carpentry work, etc., according to the bent that they may happen to have, and a few, especially the elder boys, do practical work in science; 2.30, class-work for the afternoon begins. This is for the most part handicrafts and the

lighter forms of intellectual work. At 3, break for tea; 3.10 to 4.30, school-work for higher classes and games for classes i to iv; 4.30 to 5, interval; 5 to 6.30, football, hockey, cricket, etc.; 7, bath; 7.30, evening meal; 7.45, evening meeting, with incidental roll-call of the residential students. There is talk and social exchange, and a music master is available. From 8 o'clock the younger boys begin to retire according to inclination. Others read light literature until 9 or 9.30, and then go to bed.

Tamil is the medium of instruction through class viii, but from class iii onwards English is taught by the direct method as a second language. A European starts the boys in their English. They are thoroughly convinced that with good teaching English can be satisfactorily acquired although the rest of the instruction is in the vernacular.

One period each day is given to nature study, two of these being assigned each week to gardening. A well-equipped carpentry shop gives the boys manual training, and in their leisure they may go in and make what they wish—letter-boxes, picture-brackets, laboratory articles, etc. Those students who intend to give up their studies after completing the tenth class are advised to specialize in some line that will be of use to them in after life. One such line of specialization is provided in the weaving and dyeing department. Under the guidance of two experts this department provides a practical knowledge of the weaving of silk and cotton cloth, dyeing, pattern-designing, warping, sizing, bleaching, printing, finishing, and testing yarn, colours, and chemicals. This department differs from many mission weaving schools in that it trains the boys for a distinctly higher grade of work.

One of the six looms is a Jacquard for elaborate designs ; a second is for silk ; one is for ornamental borders ; two are in constant use by professional weavers producing saris for Madras consumption ; and the work is so conducted that while the pupil is learning the art of weaving and dyeing, he may at the same time learn how to manage a small establishment of his own.

III

One of the most interesting educational experiments in India is the Gurukula,¹ at the foot of the Himalayas, where the sacred Ganges bursts forth from the hills on its long journey of enrichment through the plains of India. When the writer visited it some years ago the Ganges was in flood. Six miles away from the station at Hardwar, on the other side of the river, was the school. Imagine one's surprise at being shown a triangular raft, made up of some seventeen air-tight kerosene oil cans, as a means of getting across the turbulent flood. It was with a feeling of adventure that one sought the centre of gravity of that triangle, and squatted on the bamboo strips which lay across the cans, while a man with his breast on the base of the triangle kicked his legs in the water. By this novel method of propulsion the raft finally crossed the river, landing three miles down the stream. From the bank a path led through tall grass to the grounds of the school. In the distance one could see the snow-capped Himalayas ; before one lay gardens of flowers and vegetables surrounding the school build-

¹ Sources for this section : a visit to the school some years ago, the school *Prospectus* for 1920, *A Modern Mela* (being a pamphlet reprinted from the *Vedic Magazine*), and information sent by the principal.

ings. Ordinarily one can reach the school by bullock cart, or other vehicle, over a bridge of boats. By either approach one is impressed by the immense bed of the Ganges and the jungle on the other side, and feels that he has left behind him the busy world with all its struggles and stress and storm.

The Gurukula was established in 1902, under the management of the Arya Samaj. Its foremost aim is the rejuvenation of Vedic culture. In the words of its prospectus :—

‘ One of the prime objects of the Gurukula is to expand the bounds of human knowledge by ploughing up this fertile field of ancient eternal thought which will be in a sense our distinctive contribution to the knowledge of humanity. The Gurukula stands for trying in a humble way to do something for winning back for ancient classical Sanskrit literature the place that ought rightly to belong to it as the source of all subsequent world literature, and to carry to mankind the Vedic message it so sorely needs—the message of a self-controlled, self-denying, simple, spiritual mode of life based upon co-operation and loving service.’¹

Special stress is therefore laid on the study of classical Sanskrit. Many of the boys learn to talk freely in this ancient language, and several literary and debating societies use it as a medium.

IV

A second aim is to further character building on Vedic lines, and hence moral and religious instruction is given throughout the course. About six o’clock each morning the boys assemble for conversation with the principal on some helpful subject. From three to seven periods

¹ *Prospectus of the Gurukula Kangri*, 1920, p. 7.

are given each week to formal class-room instruction in religion, and the ninth and tenth classes receive special instruction from the principal. Every morning and every evening there is a definite time set apart for worship, lasting fifteen or twenty minutes. The first part consists of the *Sandhya*, a prayer, silently and individually offered. Each is supposed to repeat mentally and to meditate upon a series of Sanskrit verses, some of which are thus translated by the principal :—

' I invoke the blessings of the All-pervading Divine mother !

O God ! I make a solemn covenant with Thee, that knowingly I will never sin, with any of my organs of sense or powers of action.

But, O Lord, I am weak, do Thou purify and strengthen my senses and powers !

O All-wise and Glorious Being !

May we perceive God with all His Glory, obtain Him, the Sun of our life, and our spiritual Light !

O All-Life ! All-Happiness ! All-Joy ! The Lord of all regions, our Maker, the Supreme Being. We meditate upon Thy adorable form of spiritual light. Illumine Thou our intellects ! '

After the conclusion of the *Sandhya*, the occupants of each room gather about a small brazier, and under the guidance of a leader perform the *Agnihotra* or *Hawan*, a ceremony widely esteemed in India. Twigs or finely split wood are placed in the brazier and clarified butter poured over it and ignited. The fire is maintained by continued libations and additions of fuel, and at intervals sugar and fragrant herbs and spices are thrown into the flames. Simultaneously, Sanskrit verses are recited by the group in unison. These verses are also from the Vedas, and a translation of them is in part as follows :—

' To Him, who is the teacher of the wise, we make obeisance.

To the self-glorious Illuminer of the worlds, attended by resplendent suns.

To the Giver of knowledge, the Light of Lights !

To Thee, O God, the self-existent Being, who art our life, our knowledge and our power of movement, we make obeisance ; who art Holiness, Power, and Space ; who art Bliss, Eternity, and Infinity ; who art Light and Life :

To Thee, who art All, we make obeisance.

Peace be to all heavenly bodies, to space, water, earth, and air ; peace be to animals and plants. Peace be to all and everything, nothing but peace, and may this peace be ours also.'

Isolation from the contaminating influences of city life is depended upon to help in the process of character formation. Separated as they are from the distractions and the temptations of ordinary society, insistence is placed upon a simple, self-denying, and strictly regulated life. The boys are usually about seven or eight years of age when they come. On entering they must take a vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Their parents must agree to let them stay in the school until they are twenty-five years of age, practically turning over guardianship of the boys to the principal. The pupils are not allowed to visit their homes during this long period of training, except under exceptional and urgent circumstances, nor can the relatives come to the school more than once a month. Even in the long vacations the pupils either remain in the Gurukula, or go off on an excursion to places of historical interest with one of the teachers. A yellow robe is the school costume, and the boys go barefoot in the hottest as well as the coldest weather.

The school believes on principle that a certain amount of ascetic discipline is desirable ; that modern Western

civilization lays too much emphasis on physical comfort ; and that its standard of respectability is found too much in mere natural wealth and worldly success. They would hold that moral stamina, independence of character, and unhesitating loyalty to righteousness cannot be developed in an atmosphere of luxury and bodily comfort. The man who is to fight against the allurements of this world must have learned as a child to sacrifice bodily comfort and luxurious living. Their ideal is to develop a character which at a moment's notice can renounce all the pleasures of the flesh without a pang or sigh of regret.

Here at the Gurukula, as in Bolpur and in the National High School at Madras, an effort is being made to get back to India's ancient ideal of close fellowship between guru and pupil. The principal feels assured that only in this relationship can formal religious instruction be made effective. Living as they do far off from any other social centre, the teachers have their life right in the school ; and since the boys are very largely cut off from their homes, they tend to look upon their teachers as their guides and friends. They aim to watch the conduct of the pupils, and if some fault is noticed, it is made the subject of the next morning's talk which the principal has with the boys.

An effort is made to keep the attitude of the pupils toward their teachers both reverent and harmonious. The principal himself is a man marked by the greatest sincerity and loftiness of aim. Each pupil as he meets the principal bows at his feet, and with an upward sweep of the joined hands does him reverence. The pupils know that many of the staff receive substantially only their bare support from the institution, and that the principal has given his whole property to the school.

Each class opens its period by a sort of prayer. Teachers and pupils recite together a Sanskrit *sloka*, of which the meaning is : 'Om (a salutation to the deity). May He protect us both (teacher and pupil). May He cause us both to enjoy the highest bliss. May we each add to the other's strength (body and mind). May our studies be fruitful. May we live in peace with each other.'

It is manifest that in order to secure the isolation from the world and the guru relationship, the school must be residential. They do not feel that a teacher can adequately mould the character of his pupils if his daily contact with them lasts only the six hours of actual teaching. The teacher must be *in loco parentis* to his pupils, and be able to work against forces which might neutralize the general effect of the school.

Further, the feeling is cultivated that all are members of the same family—brethren. The boys are taught to share all their pleasures with their comrades, and to seek no enjoyment which cannot be so shared. In fact, it is said that when their parents come to see them, the boys will not accept individual presents from them. It is noteworthy that caste distinctions are not recognized, but equal treatment is given to all. For them true caste is based, not on birth, but on capacity, character, and culture—a great advance on popular Hindu thought.

(5-5.30) is allowed for bathing, either in the Ganges or in the bath-house, as the boys prefer. After the toilet has been made comes the morning worship, the *Sandhya* and *Agnihotra* described above. A little light food is then distributed, after which they have two hours of study. At 8.45 the morning meal is taken. After all are seated and the food served, they repeat in unison a Sanskrit stanza. The food is strictly vegetarian, plain, but substantial and wholesome.

After the morning meal there is about a half-hour's rest, after which school begins at 9.45. At midday there is an intermission, when the boys are given milk or other light refreshments. From 4.15 to 4.45 the boys are left to themselves, after which compulsory athletics take place. Football, hockey, swimming, wrestling, *kabaddi*, and other Indian games are played, with a superintendent present to see that every boy answers to his name at roll-call as regularly as at any class. Between 5.30 and 6 another bath is taken, after which the *Sandhya* and *Agnihotra* are repeated as in the morning. An hour of study follows, and all except the very oldest are off to bed at nine.

Striking out, as this school has, for a definite ideal, they have not attempted to secure a Government grant. They do not wish to submit to the present examination system, which they feel is pernicious and inevitably conducive to cramming. They wish to give marked emphasis to Sanskrit. They do not believe in English as the medium of instruction, but strongly hold that no education for young people can be satisfactory that is not in the vernacular. Hence all subjects, such as physics chemistry, mathematics, political economy, and Western philosophy, are taught in Hindi. Such radical changes in

curriculum would not fit in well with the Government scheme.

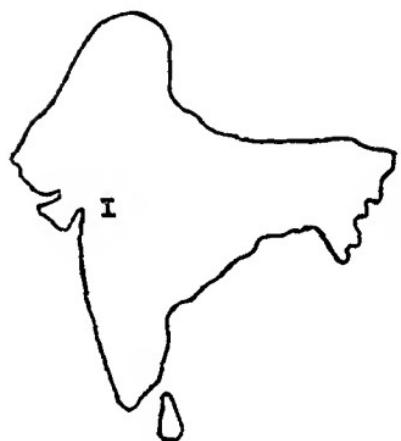
On behalf of this school—Indian in origin, management, and control—Aryas have been ready to give their means. The management have utilized the Indian love for a *mela*, and each year erect upon their grounds rows of temporary thatched shelters, to which as many as thirty thousand men and women come. The banks of the holy Ganges, the snow-capped Himalayas, the simplicity of the surroundings, the fraternal and mutual accommodation of the pilgrims, the living together without doors and locks, combined with the modern machinery of platform, dais, presidents, programmes, conferences, and resolutions, have a magic which stirs the people. Under the flickering lamp a mother will lull her babe to sleep, fondly hoping for the proud day when the child will be old enough to be admitted to the Gurukula. The newly admitted pupils, after a solemn initiation ceremony wherein sandals and a staff are given them to the accompaniment of Sanskrit mantrams, are given a practical lesson in humility, and are sent about the great company to receive their offerings and place them at the feet of the guru.

A Western educator certainly would not approve of every aspect of this school. But he may well ask himself what are the elements which give it strength in the eyes of the people who support it. Manifestly there is something in the Gurukula that leads great numbers of men and women to bear the toils of travel and rally round it.

CHAPTER XII

EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENTS IN BARODA

I



UNDER the leadership of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar, Baroda stands out as one of the most progressive of the native States of India. These States comprise three-eighths of the territory known as India, and each is more or less free from the government of British India to initiate internal reforms or policies. The Mah-

raja has travelled extensively abroad, and has introduced many reforms amongst his people. To educationists Baroda has a special interest as being the first State in India to make primary education both compulsory and free. It was in 1893, immediately on his return from a tour in Europe and America, that His Highness decided to take the bold step of introducing compulsory education in one small part of his State as an experimental measure. It was gradually extended as experience and opportunity justified, but the rate at which progress could be made was surprisingly slow. By 1904, eleven years after the experiment had been started, the

law had been applied to only fifty-two villages. Finally, in 1907, primary education was made free and compulsory throughout the State.

This innovation caused great discussion not only in Baroda but in other parts of India, and many were the voices raised against its necessity and advisability. Inasmuch as school fees were still charged during the first few months of the enforcement, the people said it was an invention of the State for securing more revenue. The more intelligent feared that its enforcement would promote corruption.

The age limits for compulsory attendance were originally fixed at seven to twelve for boys, and seven to ten for girls. After a few years the compulsory age for girls was raised to eleven. The present requirement is eight to fourteen for boys and eight to twelve for girls. At first compulsion ceased when the child completed the third standard ; now the fourth must be passed. Exceptions to compulsory attendance, however, are made for a number of cases, as for example children who are incapacitated by illness or permanent physical defect ; whose presence is rendered indispensable at home because of aged or ailing parents ; who can afford to receive private tuition at home ; who are the bread-winners of their family ; or who have no Government school within one mile from their place of residence. At the beginning, in 1906-7, a census of children about five or six years of age was prepared by the Revenue Department with the help of schoolmasters, as a means of securing the entrance of children on attaining the age of seven years. Lists of the seven-year-olds were posted in the village market and in the school-house.

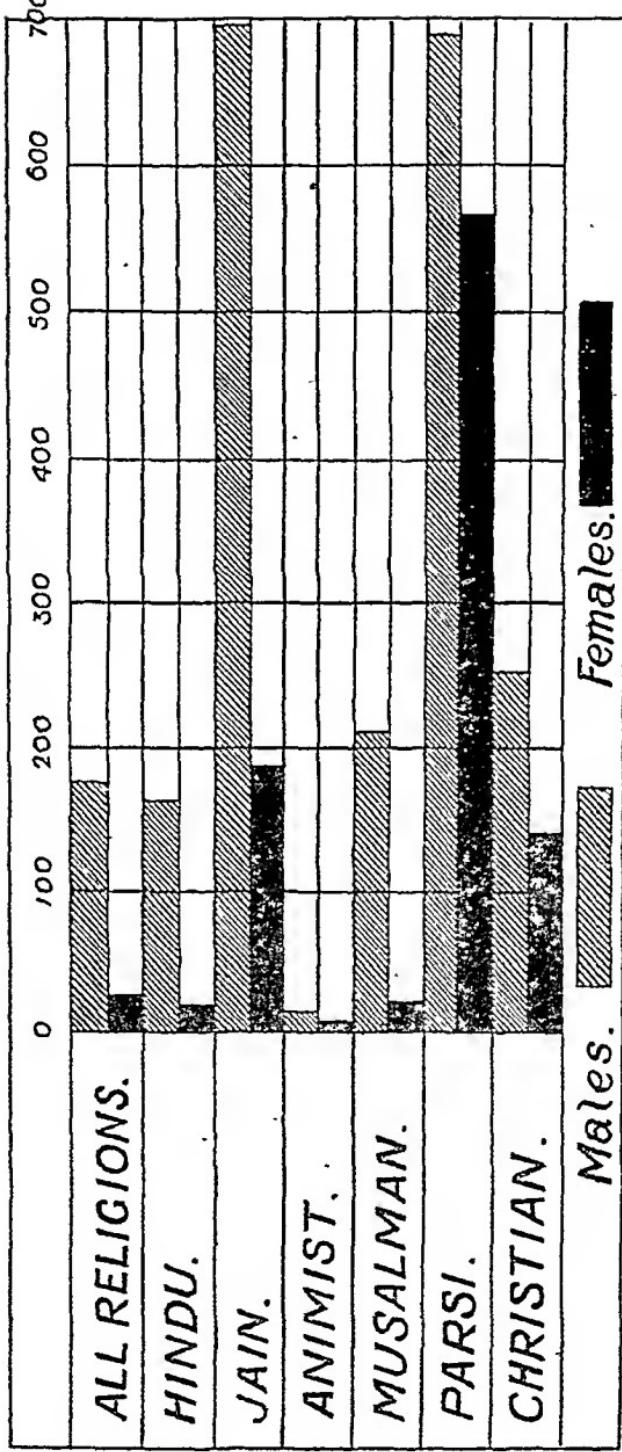
Parents were fined a rupee for every month they delayed

in entering their children. After the children were admitted, parents were fined for undue absence on the part of their children. A good many things had to be learned from experience. The enforcement of the law was left, not to the police and magistracy, but to the teachers and Revenue Department. It was some time, however, before they realized how large a clerical force would be needed. Any delay by the Revenue Department in imposing fines would give the impression that the Government was not serious in the matter of compulsion. If fines were allowed to accumulate, it pressed hard on the poor and ignorant people who could ill afford to pay the accumulated debt. It was found necessary to employ deputy educational inspectors to move continuously from place to place, encouraging the authorities to collect fines, explaining the law to ignorant people, and advising local schoolmasters how to overcome difficulties in starting a school. Petty extortions had to be combated ; for eight annas would be extracted from an illiterate parent and a receipt for only four annas given. At one stage it was found that the remuneration for collecting fines was not sufficiently attractive. In 1913 it was suggested¹ that 5 per cent. of the fines collected within the same month as they were imposed should be given as a reward to the collecting officer. In order to meet a widespread accusation that Government was using school fines as an additional source of revenue, it was ordered (in 1914-15) that 60 per cent. of the fines should be used to erect school buildings, and 35 per cent. to help really indigent people whose family income was lowered by the attendance of children who had been wage-earners.²

¹ *Report of Public Instruction in Baroda State, 1913-14*, p. 30.

² *Report of Public Instruction in Baroda State, 1916-17*, p. 38.

DIAGRAM SHEWING THE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER 1,000 IN EACH RELIGION
WHO ARE LITERATE.



The average annual fines imposed amount to about Rs.90,000. Often not more than half is actually collected.

Of the 3,075 towns and villages of the State, 1,737 have been provided with primary schools, while 300 more are served by schools in neighbouring villages. Nearly 900 villages which are mere hamlets have no chance of getting schools under existing conditions.¹ The problem of providing education for these small settlements is a difficult one. Thus out of a population of 2,029,320, 1,735,744 had primary schools provided for them. The percentage of school children to the population of those towns and villages that have schools is 13·3. Although the compulsory law went into effect in 1907, it is noteworthy to what extent illiteracy remains. An examination of the chart on the previous page along with the knowledge of the effort expended in this small State will show how enormous is the problem of producing literacy in India.

II

In Baroda, as elsewhere in India, those who do such work as tanning hides, sweeping streets, and removing refuse and carcasses have for centuries been considered untouchable outcastes beneath the lowest caste. With the age-long prejudice against these people it is not surprising that the higher castes are reluctant to permit them to be educated. But His Highness the Gaekwar is astonishingly liberal and unbiased. He realizes that his State cannot go far forward if the outcastes, amounting to one-fifth of the population, are left in abject ignorance. His strong words on this subject are worth quoting :—

¹ *Report of Public Instruction in Baroda State, 1916-17*, p. 31.

'They [the educated and official communities of the State] should no longer cherish the absurd prejudice that the lower classes, who are only the victims of harsh circumstances and antiquated social laws, were made inferior or impure by God, nor treat them with contempt, and when forced by their official duty into contact with them, do it coldly and grudgingly instead of endeavouring with zeal and earnestness to help and improve them. Nor should they think, as some foolishly do, that these were specially created to be our servants, and that by educating them this Heaven-sent provision will disappear. The kindred idea held by some members of the higher castes, that the lower castes should be kept in ignorance, or the veneration in which the Brahmins are held by the lower castes will be lost, is as groundless as it is unworthy. Even if educated, all will not rise beyond a certain level of intelligence; and if they do, it will surely be a matter for national rejoicing rather than for regret. On the education of these classes depends the welfare of the community of which they are a part; for it cannot advance with one part of itself and remain behind with another; there must be proportionate progress all around.'¹

The first school for these depressed classes was started in 1884. At present there are in the State 278 free vernacular schools for them with 17,000 pupils. Not only tuition, but all school requisites, are supplied without charge. Outcaste men are allowed to proceed to the state college and training schools, although they still may have to sit somewhat apart from the rest. Three special boarding-houses provide free food and lodging, and special scholarships relieve them of charge for tuition and incidentals in higher education. It was interesting in one of these boarding-houses to find the sacred Vedas had a place on the bookshelves. A few years ago it was a sin to read these holy scriptures to an outcaste. Now they are being taught the sacred *hawan* ceremony, and many other habits of cleanliness and self-respect. All the low-

¹ Gadhkar, S. R., *Articles on Education*, p. 85.

caste girls are taught something of sewing and cooking. Four years ago a special sub-deputy inspector was appointed to convene parents' meetings, explain the benefits of general education, and to lecture on social problems. So slow and so difficult is this task among the outcastes that within the past thirteen years the State has produced only eleven teachers from them with three years' training, although fifteen have gone through two years and twenty-five through one year of teacher training.

It is slow work changing India's ancient prejudices. But the interesting fact is that Baroda is making the effort. His Highness goes further even than wishing to see these people educated. He wishes to see their social stigma of being 'untouchable' removed. By personal example and invitation he has sought to honour them. At one time he gave a feast to 500 of these pupils, boys and girls, in the palace grounds. At another a group was entertained in the Durbar Hall. Caste Hindus who are willing to teach in outcaste schools, are given fifty per cent. of their ordinary pay as a special bonus for moral courage in overcoming caste prejudice. Theoretically, the outcastes can go freely to all dispensaries, law courts, Government offices, and libraries of the State and even use all wells. If practice is not always up to theory, the spirit of toleration is, at least, on the increase.

III

Baroda has led all India in the development of a public library system.¹ In 1910, when His Highness was for a

¹ For further information on the education of the depressed classes see *Bulletin No. 2 of the Department of Education, Baroda State, 1920*

² The information for this section was obtained from an inspection of the Central Library, visits to several of the town libraries, *The*

second time touring in the United States, the sight of thousands of public libraries led him to send a library expert to Baroda to organize a system for his State. This was intended to supplement the scheme of free and compulsory education introduced in 1907. A central library was organized by consolidating various isolated collections, and inasmuch as it was obvious that a large staff of assistants would be needed, a class for scientific training in modern librarianship was started in 1911. This was three years before Bombay University sent its librarian to Europe for scientific training, and four years before the Punjab University brought out the second library expert to India. For this class of a dozen students, including six university graduates and three women, a course was given in library handwriting, collating new books, testing of paper, repair of books, the preparation of book cards, the dispatch of overdue notices, the collection of fines, the reserving of books, and the cataloguing of new books. In other words, they were initiated into the detail of modern library work. A newspaper reading room was opened, in which may regularly be found 156 papers and periodicals published in India, thirty-two in England, thirty-three in America, and one in Japan. The practice of lending single issues of periodicals for home use was tried for about two years, but had to be discontinued, as the papers would come back too mutilated for filing.

The children's section of the library (started in 1913) is manifestly a copy of such departments in the West; but an average annual attendance of 20,000 for the activities of this section shows that children in India, as in the West, have a zest for play and colour, and that they will

always respond to a good story. In this room there is a variety of table-games, puzzle-boxes, kindergarten gifts, and a considerable number of picture-posters and picture-books, although good juvenile books in the vernacular must, for the most part, still be written. Children come from the neighbouring schools, and, on the two half-holidays each week, from more distant schools. Under the skilful direction of a librarian, who gives her whole time to this department, they are happily employed with post-card albums, stereographic pictures, interesting curios, or with one or more of the dozen children's magazines lying about on the tables. Each Wednesday during the four monsoon months they aim to have a story hour followed by a cinema, to which the children of the vernacular schools are invited in turns.

The creation of a department for women had special difficulties of its own. First of all, purdah regulations had to be observed. This was accomplished by building a separate staircase from the rear to the second story. Next was the more difficult problem of rousing interest in the women. Until they should learn to value library privileges it was clear that their appetite would have to be stimulated. So whenever the ladies met in their city purdah club, the librarians would be on hand with their well-selected books for loaning. Later on parlour games and stereoscopes were taken, and a demand was created for magazines, especially the pictorial ones. To a new club started in 1915, where the women brought their children, the Central Library sent its representative with vernacular books for adults, picture-books and rag-books for children, and table-games for both. In the meantime, women have begun to throw off their bashfulness and to make direct use not only of their room in the Central

Library, but of a branch library especially located for them. The last figures available (1917) show a total circulation amongst the ladies of the city of 9,303.

A few years ago plague so raged in Baroda City that 200 families moved to lines outside the municipality. The library saw in this an opportunity, and began extension work by sending books for women and children twice a week. House to house visits were made to inform them of the plan. Once a week the women were invited to a central place in the health camps to get the books, which came in travelling library boxes, and on another day picture-books and games were distributed amongst the children. This not only served to divert the minds of these women and children during an emergency, but won friends for a larger library patronage later.

In 1906, on his first visit to America, His Highness sent back to the Minister of Education a cablegram, followed by a detailed order, 'that circulating libraries should be established in every Taluka or Peta Mahal of the State so that people in villages also may have opportunities to read books, periodicals, and newspapers.' \$10,000 was sanctioned to start the plan, and a scheme of grant-in-aid and other methods of stimulating local support were devised. Of these 200 circulating libraries fully half gradually fell into disuse. After the first novelty had worn off and the books purchased by the initial grant had been read, the little libraries were less and less used. No provision had been made for recurring grants, or for librarians with living interest and training. A new start was made in 1910, when a library expert was brought from the West. By 1918, under a wise system of grants-in-aid, all the forty-two towns of the State had obtained free public libraries, and 560 villages had

established small libraries or reading-rooms, making a permanently housed reading centre for an average of every thirteen and a half square miles.

But the problem was not even thus solved, for Baroda has 3,000 villages. How were these to secure the benefit of a free library system? In 1911 travelling libraries were instituted. Small boxes, containing mostly fiction, were prepared for centres where the readers were incapable of making a choice. But other sets were prepared for special groups, i.e. women, children of various ages, students in different grades of vernacular and English schools, teachers studying child-education and pedagogy, persons interested in religion and biography, farmers and artisans, and so on. Here are the books in one of the more general boxes: *Æsop's Fables*, *Evenings at Home*, *Patriotic Stories*, *Sandford and Merton*, *Tales from the Kalevala*, *Story of Siegfried*, *Tales of Wallace and Bruce*, *Heroes of Indian History*, *South Africa's Story*, *Piers Plowman Historics*, *Children of India*, *Children of Persia*. There are now 441 cases for books, and of these 321 are filled with one or the other of 166 different fixed sets or groups of books. The libraries go out to the head masters of schools, to the secretaries of local libraries, or to any other responsible person. With them go printed notices about the library, which are put up in public places and distributed among literate persons of the village. During the seven years for which data are available the average annual issue of boxes has been 235.

Associated with the department of libraries is the visual instruction work. This aims to bring the benefit of education to some of the 90 per cent. who are still illiterate. Since this effort was begun, in 1913, they have had to do a good deal of experimentation. The original

cinema, which was worked with a limelight, was found to be too delicate for touring in the district, and the gas tanks too bulky. A parlour cinema, portable, producing its own electric light by hand, and capable of being worked by any person of ordinary intelligence, gave good results. But the best plan for high-power work in out-of-the-way places was found to be a cinema group costing about \$800, which generates its own electricity by means of a dynamo run by a small oil engine. Besides five cinema machines, the Visual Instruction Branch has a radiopticon for projecting picture post-cards, 50 stereoscopes with 5,400 pictures, and about 800 ordinary lantern slides. During 1917-18, 152,000 people are said to have benefited by 167 cinema shows, and 318 sets of stereographs were sent out.

IV

The Gaekwar has his eyes open for suggestion in every quarter. In the last four years the boy scout movement has made a great advance among Indian youth, and the Gaekwar himself was greatly taken with this movement in the West. So a plan for demonstrating its usefulness was put into operation in 1919. A trained scout-master-in-chief was employed, and a troop of a hundred boys selected from the various schools of the capital was equipped and trained at State expense. They have taken for headquarters the basement of the museum which is in the midst of the public park. The room and equipment here are probably unsurpassed by any other troop in India. A great hall 351 by 100 feet is used for lectures, meetings, and indoor games, and is flanked by two wings, in which the fourteen patrols have each an alcove. In these are

found the pictures of the patrol animals—lion, tiger, wolf, fox, leopard, eagle, etc. There is friendly rivalry to see which patrol will keep its uniforms (the regulation Baden-Powell outfit), boots, and other equipment in the best order. One room contains the 'hobbies' made or collected by the scouts. A store-room contains the troop cycles, tents, stretchers, and the rope ladders up which the boys can go and fling themselves into jumping-nets twenty feet below. On the walls are the troop notice-board, the rules and oaths of scouting, the scout knot-board, and the board on which are inscribed the names of those who have earned recognition by exceptional service to the troop or to others.

The scouts come together for an hour each day, and longer on holidays. Two annual camps of about ten days each have been held, introducing the boys for the first time to camp life, with its special opportunities for developing the scout spirit.

There is nothing especially unique about the work of the Baroda scouts. But it is significant that a first-rate troop is holding up the idea of scoutcraft in the capital city of this 'native State.' It clearly shows that boys in India love to sing and yell, camp and hike, just like boys of the West, and that they can pitch and strike tents, render first-aid, and conduct themselves as behoves a true scout. (See Plates xv and xvi.)

V

Baroda recognizes the study of music as a part of liberal education. It is taught as a separate subject in three training colleges and in five of the larger girls' high schools. Music classes to provide recreation to school children are

held in the evening. In five such schools, meeting in the evening from six to eight, the attendance was 967 boys.¹

Indian games, both indoor and outdoor, have been incorporated as an integral part of the primary school curriculum. A well-illustrated book of some two hundred pages describing these games has been issued in the vernacular for the use of the schools.

Appropriations are made for enlarging the experience of teachers in training. One year twenty girls from the senior class were chosen for a trip to Mount Abu under the guidance of the superintendent. Other years they have been to Bombay, Ajmere, Chitore, or Jaipur, visiting places and temples of historical or mythological interest, and feel the surge of a bigger past and present. Such travel not only widens the mental horizon, but gives greater confidence and experience.² The State usually has a number of students studying abroad, taking work in pedagogy, higher agriculture, finance, commerce, political science, organization, and the like.

A few years ago the Maharajah invited an American expert in household arts, a professor in a Western college, to organize her speciality in his State. Such pioneer work required courage and initiation of no small degree; yet the venture contained elements of romance and challenge that any woman might envy. On arrival, this professor of household arts was given a comfortable bungalow opposite the Laxmi Villa Palace. A motor-car with its upkeep was placed at her disposal. She was also given a Brahman translator and interpreter, two typists, and a clerk. But all was not smooth sailing, for she found folks did not want

¹ *Report of Public Instruction in Baroda State, 1916-17*, p. 66.

² *Report of Public Instruction in Baroda State, 1914-15*, p. 50; 1915-16, p. 53.

her. Some who needed most help were complacent in self-conceit and scornful of her ability to teach them anything.

A course in methods of teaching household arts was given in the Teachers' Training College to about a hundred men. For the girls in the high school a course was worked out on foods and nutrition. A number of short courses were given to a variety of audiences. The palace cooks and table-boys had a class three times a week in such practical work as the judging of materials (such as soap), determining relative values, and the advantages of buying in large quantities. Brushes and brooms were made for special purposes. The palace linen and methods had to be standardized, the dhobis (washermen) instructed, and sanitary arrangements revised in the dairy, the butcher's shop, and the stores for raw food. With the assistance of the State architect a good many structural changes were made in the palace buildings in order to give better light and air, to shorten food routes, or otherwise increase convenience. Thus in co-operation with Indian workers the scientific theory and experience of the West has been brought to bear upon conditions in the East, and much of the resulting experience has been organized into courses of instruction for permanent benefit.

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